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MEMOIRS

OF THE

EARLY LIFE AND SERVICE

OF

A FIELD OFFICER,

ON THE

RETIRED LIST

OF THE

INDIAN ARMY.

FORSAN ET HÆC OLIM MEMINISSE JUVABIT.

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1839.

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J. LODER, PRINTER, WOODBRIDGE.

TO

MAJOR EDWARD MOOR,

OF

Bealings, in the County of Suffolk.

MY DEAR MOOR,

IN dedicating to you the following sheets, in which I have endeavoured to trace the incidents of my early life, and of that period of it which includes my service in India; I have appealed to the only living person, who, in the latter case, was individually a frequent participator in the scenes which they are intended to delineate; and therefore the only competent witness to the general truth of my narrative.

But, more particularly, as an immediate actor in the events of that disastrous morning, which, some six-and-forty years ago, at once extinguished all my hopes of distinction in the direct line of our profession, I must consider you as possessing a peculiar claim; independently of our long during friendship, to the patronage of a Book, which otherwise, would probably never have seen the light.

Of that true friendship which has subsisted between us for so many years, in the midst of some eventful changes, I cannot speak without emotions of equal pride and delight. Of pride, in holding a place in your esteem—for *laudari a laudato viro,* has ever been considered an enviable distinction—of delight, in the recollection of the many felicitous, and, I trust, harmless, scenes, in which we have been associated: not without feelings of deep, but unavailing, regret, that we shall never see them more.

I trust that in the pages now about to be submitted to the public, nothing will occur that can raise a blush on your cheek, for the failings of your humble friend. Certainly I am not aware that they contain a single passage, that should give alarm to modesty the most sensitive, or any just offence, to the living or the dead. Indeed, I may allege, that many pages throughout the whole, have

been devoted, in melancholy satisfaction, to record the merits of some departed friend; and, as far as lies with me, to rescue from oblivion some respected name.

It did not come within the scope of my design to compose a novel; and yet the unembellished matters of fact, interspersed through the narrative, might, in abler hands, have been easily wrought into something like romance. At the same time, I am not without considerable apprehension—seeing that the public has been so long fed with the meretricious attractions of fiction—that my simple story will have but a slender chance of a favourable reception.

Nevertheless, I am disposed to the belief that many of our brother officers of the present day, may yet derive some gratification in tracing the foot-steps of their predecessors, through the same scenes, half a century ago; which, although now, perhaps, familiarly known, had then been but imperfectly, if at all, explored, by Europeans.

Under these circumstances, not without a sufficient load of solicitude, I venture to commit my fragile bark to the ocean of public opinion. Trusting that a liberal criticism—if indeed I should at all succeed in attracting notice—will not altogether disregard that excellent maxim, so necessary to human infirmity—which emphatically instructs us to "temper judgement with mercy."

But whatever may be the fate of this unpretending, and, I trust, unostentatious, volume, I can never regret the opportunity thus afforded, of recording my indelible esteem for that acknowledged public and private worth, by which you, my friend, have long deserved, not only mine, but the regard and attachment of all, that have ever been brought within the influence of your unrestricted kindness.

For the present, farewell, my dear Moor—only accept of these my assurances of unaltered regard, in the spirit of truth and sincerity in which they are given: and believe me to be your ever affectionate friend—

THE AUTHOR.

MEMOIRS,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

An eventful period of more than half a century hath gone by, since a letter was conveyed to me, in a remote climate, from the humane and venerated instructor of my youth, which contained the following passage:—

"At some future period, should it occur to you to "commit to writing the story of your life, I would "venture to suggest to you, that the circumstance of "the Lieutenant of Marines lending his aid to with-"draw from your coat lining your precious deposit of "bank of England notes, might be the subject of an "engraving to front the title-page of your book."

The circumstance to which this passage refers will be presently explained. In the mean time the issue of the adventurous course to which I had then committed myself, lay far beyond the limits of any conception that I was capable of forming; and in truth never entered very largely into my consideration, either then or afterwards. And now, verging fast towards the precincts of the grave, that I should at last, undertake to trace upon paper the recollection of occurrences so long past; and reflecting that possibly before I shall be able to terminate my narrative, my course may be brought to a close, it may be expected that I should offer something in apology for my thus obtruding myself upon the public. If therefore my humble example, brief and unimportant as it may prove, shall furnish the friendless an argument against despair, and to the thriftless a beacon against unreflecting extravagance, I trust that this attempt, in the evening of life, will not be considered without its utility.

Without further preliminary, I shall therefore proceed to state—that some time in the year 1762, I drew my first breath, in a secluded valley among the mountainous districts of South Wales, about eight miles beyond the ancient and pleasingly situated county town, Brecknock. My father was at that period, the humble curate of the parish in which I was born: but having, by his acknowledged acquirements in the learned languages, obtained the notice of his diocesan, Dr. Moss, then bishop of St. David's, he was shortly after my birth, preferred to the living of Llanbadarn-vawr, near Aberystwith, in the county of Cardigan.

I was left to pass the period of infancy at the house of my grandfather, a respectable freeholder, proud of his descent from one of the feudatories of the Norman William, in an obscure village near Brecknock. About the age of six or seven, I was carried across the hills to Aberystwith: and I must then at least have arrived at years of observation, since I still retain a perfect remembrance of the awful impression made upon my mind, when the blue expanse of the sea first burst upon my view in tranquil sublimity, between the headlands which terminate the vale of Ystwith.

At Aberystwith, towards the commencement of our unfortunate contest with the revolted colonies of America, that is sometime in the year 1775, my father died at the early age of forty-nine: leaving a bereaved and sorrowing widow with five orphan children, of whom I was the eldest boy, to lament the premature loss; and look to heaven alone for the competent means of sustaining life.

The only circumstance that took place regarding myself, prior to this disheartning event, and of which I retain a perfect recollection, was the following: with other boys of nearly the same age, I was in the habit of swimming in the river below the arches of Aberystwith bridge. On one occasion the larger boys having plunged into the rapid stream I could

not withhold from following the example. I had however scarcely committed myself to the water when some of the boys, most indiscreetly, called out to me to come back. This I accordingly attempted to do. But I had not struck many strokes against the boiling stream, when the strength of my arms failed me, and I sunk in one of the whirling eddies. I can at this moment as perfectly recollect my sensations on the occasion, as if it were an occurrence of yesterday. With the capability of exertion, I had entirely lost the sense of danger; and felt as if in a perfectly easy sleep, although I still retained the lively perception of the light above my head in the whirling vortex. In short, I do not hesitate to assert that with me the agonies of death had passed; and I was actually expiring without the slightest sense of pain, if one of the larger boys, William Jones, of Crynfrin (the maternal uncle of the present Mr. Jones, of Ystrad) had not hastened to the head of the stream, and swimming down, brought me with him, safe to land; where, after a little rolling in the gravel, I was restored to my senses.

My excellent and exemplary mother, for so she was in a very eminent degree, among other distresses incident to her sudden and unexpected bereavement, experienced no little anxiety as to the disposal of her eldest son. From this she was in some measure relieved, by an offer from the truly humane and respected individual to whom I have already referred, as the instructor of my youth, to give me a gratuitous education at the seminary over which he presided so many years—the college school at Brecknock—then I believe the most respectable in the Principality.

Here I remained until the month of October 1779.

My kind protector early entertained a very favorable opinion of my capacity, and of my proficiency in classical lore. But I may now acknowledge that the facility with which I generally got through with my exercises rendered me most culpably idle. And I

certainly did not derive that advantage from the opportunities, of which I might have possessed myself, had I employed a closer and more diligent attention in the prosecution of my studies.

Be this however as it may, such was the opinion entertained of my acquirements by my benevolent and partial friend, rather specious than solid as they were, that he exerted his influence, through a distant connection, and secured for me a vacant scholarship in the University of Cambridge.

But prior to this stage in my narrative, when she had scarcely surpassed her fortieth year, this mother, whom I loved to adoration, dropped into an untimely grave; having never recovered the shock of my father's death. I cannot adequately describe the agony which I experienced at this my irreparable loss: neither for many years after could I reflect on this final bereavement without the most painful regret.

A small landed property belonging to my lamented mother, was now sold in order to equip me for the University; and thus equipped, behold me proceeding by our antiquated stage coach for London: at that period an enterprise of some magnitude. By the same coach I still remember, that among the passengers, was a lieutenant of the navy; who proved to be our subsequently distinguished and gallant admiral, Sir Thomas Foley.

On my arrival in London—spell-bound, as I verily believe, by the seductive scenes by which I was on every side environed—instead of hastening, as I ought to have done, immediately to Cambridge, I remained at the inn in Oxford-street for several days. And here it was that a circumstance occurred referred to at the commencement of my narrative. There happened to be, abiding at the same inn, a young lieutenant of marines, of the name of Slade; of nearly the same age with myself, and of very kind and engaging manners. Being, as far as I could learn, a native of the metropolis, and of course well

acquainted with its sinuosities, both physical and moral, I accepted of his offer to become my guide through its variegated sights and scenes: and I thus became completely lost in a vortex of follies, the recollection of which I cannot even now trace without remorse and sorrow.

I must not omit to observe, that at the outset of this career of folly and extravagance, it became necessary to draw from its concealment in the lining of my coat, the deposit of bank notes, which had been intended to defray the expenses of matriculation, and other objects, on my admission at college. In this I certainly was assisted by my juvenile acquaintance: and hence the remark of my venerated friend.

A week however had scarcely elapsed, before I found my resources reduced to a few shillings. But even a day or two before the final developement I had become painfully sensible of the frightful crisis; and my friend the lieutenant, who had obligingly shared in my purse, to the very last, in order to appease my apprehension, which had become rather harrassing, proposed that I should accompany him to Portsmouth where his ship lay; and where he engaged to reimburse me in all he had borrowed. Not only this, but he undertook to obtain for me, moreover, the lucrative appointment of a midshipman in the royal navy.

As I have never since heard what became of my juvenile friend, I must yet, in justice, observe that I never considered him either as an impostor or a swindler; for he introduced me to his mother, who appeared to be a person in a respectable rank in life: and in an excursion in which he accompanied me to the camp at Cox Heath, he conducted me to a handsome country house which belonged to her, but then solely occupied by the gardener, to whom he threw a handful of shillings, still borrowed from my rapidly ebbing stock. All however, that I can justly charge upon my gay friend is, that he borrowed from me what I am afraid he never intended to pay.

The illusions of the moment were, however, now fast dispelling. And I was one day gloomily seated at the inn, a prey to some very appalling reflections; when a person, attracted by my apparent depression of mind, after some preliminary enquiries, asked me if there were any one in town to whom I was known; or with whose name I was acquainted. It occurred to me that I had frequently heard my relations mention the name of a respectable merchant in Leadenhall-street, as distantly connected with the family: and I unreservedly communicated the same to the kind hearted individual who, in my hour of deep distress, had accosted me.

That very day my Leadenhall-street relation made his appearance; and in a manner which deserved my eternal gratitude, conducted me, without hesitation, to his own house, where he treated me with a kindness truly paternal. Not satisfied with this, he accompanied me, on the day following, to the residence of a gentleman in Parliament-street, who was married to a near relation of my father's; and who received me with an attention which I scarcely deserved; replaced in my purse the money which I had so thoughtlessly squandered; and thus enabled me to proceed without further delay to the university for which I was destined.

I was very kindly received by the master of my college, the late venerable Dr. Coryl: and for the seven months that intervened between October 1779 and June 1780, continued to reside without interruption. On what passed during this period it would be unnecessary to enlarge. One thing there was, however, that rendered my course of study both irksome and disheartning. I had never been taught a single lesson in the science of numbers; and the disadvantage under which I consequently laboured when I attended the lectures of the mathematical tutor in algebra, may be easily conceived. My only resource, therefore, was to prepare myself, by some

easy imperfect self instruction in the elementary rules the previous evening, for the lecture of the following day. This, it will be acknowledged, was rather severe up-hill work; and, with other embarassments that now began to press upon me, afforded no very brilliant prospect of the future. Mine was not an overflowing exchequer; and the reflection staring me in the face, that my only resource towards the liquidation of every demand, lay in my *Rustat* scholarship, the proceeds of which rested in the sanhedrim of my college, and whether I should have fifteen or thirty pounds per annum, could not but weigh most heavily upon my spirits.

In other respects, I still look back to the short period of my residence at Cambridge, as one that did not pass without enjoyment. My examination in that laborious and antiquated piece of scholastic lore, Aristotle's rhetoric, appeared to give satisfaction; and my other exercises passed without censure, as far, at least, as I was aware of. Among my supplementary readings, I may include Sophocles and Xenophon; and in latin, Livy's Roman History. But I lament to say there were other readings which occupied too large a portion of that precious time, which once lost cannot be redeemed. My amusements were limited in winter to a skating exertion towards Ely; and my summer recreations, to some delightful walks in the vicinity of the town.

The month of June now arrived, when it became necessary to look out for some abode during the tedious summer vacation: for home I had none to which to resort. To fill up the measure of my disquietude, Mr. Raine, the senior tutor, told me, without reserve, on quitting college, that unless I could secure some regular pecuniary aid from my friends, he apprehended my return could not be attended with any advantage to me.

The hint sunk deep into my heart; and with this melancholy impression I came to London, on my way

to the country. My disinterested friend in Leadenhall-street again received me with affectionate attention; as did my benefactor in Parliament-street, with unbated kindness. During my stay of four days, I witnessed the attrocious proceedings of Lord George Gordon's reckless and unreflecting mob; and as we passed through the towns and villages on the journey to Wales, our amusement was the senseless cry of "no popery."

At Gloucester my financial resources had completely failed; and as the stage coach only ran at intervals of two or three days, I was constrained to take up my abode, as well as I can recollect, at the Bell, hourly apprehensive of the dire effect that would be produced by the announcement of my pennyless condition.

From this, however, I was unexpectedly relieved by the singular humanity of the landlady; who liberally consented to accept of my promise of payment of every demand on my reaching Brecknock. This indeed, through the unvaried kindness of a kinswoman at the latter place, I was enabled to fulfil on my arrival; notwithstanding the unfavourable reports in circulation with respect to my follies at the metropolis. And here I cannot omit to observe that my kind benefactress, on this and many other occasions, was the mother of her who, six and twenty years afterwards, consented to unite her destiny with mine; and is now my faithful and affectionate wife.

Thus circumstanced, with the hint of my college tutor still fresh in remembrance, it will not be deemed very extraordinary that I should have felt myself ill at ease. To say the truth, I was in a state of wretchedness not far short of despair. Leaving Brecknock, I crossed the intervening hills into Cardiganshire; and during my ride through the mountain solitude, between the rocky glen of Aberguessin and the ruins of *strata florida*, I had, alas! ample leisure for reflection. Indeed when I approached the

door of one of my father's most intimate friends, I felt my heart rising with apprehension to my very throat. But this was, for the moment, dispelled, by a reception full of kindness beyond my hopes. This was at Rhandir, the residence of my old and respected friend, Mr. Nathaniel Williams.

Here for many a day I remained in listless, but almost withering, apathy. The hour of departure, however, arrived; and I quitted that abode of peaceful hospitality, nearly undeceived in the illusions which I had endeavoured to encourage. The same reception, and the same result, awaited me at the residence of several other friends of my father. Indeed the exterior of gaiety which I endeavoured to assume, but ill bespoke the dismantled state of my resources, and that approaching wreck of my early hopes, which appeared at no great distance before me. I had not then acquired assurance enough to open my lips on the subject: but I am disposed to think that the moderate supply of only thirty paltry guineas might have changed my destiny: and whether for good or for evil it is now impossible to decide. Most probably my career would have terminated in the peaceful occupation of a village pastor.

The uncertain future did now indeed arise before me in fearful gloom: and yet I continued to wander about Aberystwith and the neighbourhood, in hopeless idleness, for sometime longer. I then returned into Brecknockshire; and at Garth, the ancient property of the Gwynnes, I parted with my younger brother, never to meet again. I do not exaggerate when I mention the agony of grief which overwhelmed me, when I wept upon his neck, at the neglected state in which I found him. From this state of wretchedness, he was, however, a few years afterwards, rescued by my next brother; who had providentially been settled, through the influence of the Nantees family, at an establishment for the orphan

sons of clergymen, at Thursk, in the county of York. At a period long subsequent, I learned that before he had attained to manhood, the benignant hand of death had placed him beyond the reach of all earthly risk and trouble. My remaining brother survived until very lately.

Under these circumstances the month of November was approaching; and it became necessary to adopt some decision as to the course which I was to pursue: whether to return to college; or in what manner I was to dispose of myself. On one hand it was suggested to me to set up a village school, until such time as I should be of age to take orders. But the idea of a pedagogue, of eighteen at the head of a group of unruly boys and girls, offered itself to me with such ludicrous associations, that I repudiated it without hesitation. It was, therefore, a sort of fatality which led me to determine on repairing to London; certainly with nothing like any deliberate object in view. But in order to accomplish this hopeful scheme, this hallucination of insanity—for I consider it as nothing less—I prevailed upon my sister to bestow upon me the better part of her very slender pittance. This I have ever considered as the most reprehensible act of my life; and my only consolation is, that I have since been enabled to atone for it, by an hundred-fold return.

In the beginning of November 1780, I left my friends at Brecknock, for the last time; and in a few days found myself once more among the fascinations of the metropolis. The supply with which I had been furnished by my affectionate sister, was not of a magnitude to enable me to encounter the searching interrogatories of my friend, the tutor; and mortifying as the confession must be, truth compels me to acknowledge, that I again suffered myself to be hurried down the stream of delirious folly and extravagance.

All this time, however, I was a prey to the most harrassing reflections. For as my resources were

diminishing, my despair augmented. As my last and only expedient, I had disposed of my father's watch; and I was wandering in a state of abstraction along one of the cross streets diverging from Oxford-street, when my attention was attracted by a flaming placard over the door of the Green Man and Still, then an obscure public house in that quarter, inviting "all spirited young men, desirous of enrolling themselves in the service of their country, to avail themselves of the glorious opportunity which now awaited them"—&c. &c.

This most trifling occurrence at once put the seal to my destiny. My first design was to offer myself a volunteer for one of his Majesty's Regiments serving in America: but on entering the house I found it to be the rendezvous of a recruiting party for the service of the East India Company. However, when the recruiting officer, or crimp, as I afterwards found him to be, explained to me the truth, I told him, without hesitation, that the circumstance was perfectly immaterial to me; since it was my object to quit the country one way or other. I then gave him a fictitious name, which afterwards proved to me the cause of considerable inconvenience; and desired to be enrolled a volunteer for the honorable Company's service. That night I passed at this den of wretchedness, listening to the tales of some old soldiers who had already served in India, under Clive and Coote—embellishing their statements with the most gorgeous stories of captured treasures. On the following day I was conducted to the India-house; where, with perfect indifference, I suffered myself to be enrolled a recruit for the service of the East India Company.

CHAPTER II.

I was now soon to take my leave of England, as I thought, for ever: for that very evening, or early the following day, I was conveyed with several others, by one of the Gravesend boats, on board the Queen East Indiaman, then lying in the river opposite that town. How can I attempt to describe what I suffered—the mortifications to which I was exposed, amidst the scenes of profligacy and vice with which I was now surrounded. Among my unfortunate and dissipated associates, there was not one so deeply steeped in misfortune as myself. Shall I dare to affirm that the eye of benignant Providence was now upon me? And yet, at this crisis of my distress, as I was disconsolately ruminating on my unhappy prospect, a message was conveyed to me, that the clergyman who officiated as chaplain to the company's shipping at Gravesend, wished to speak with me in the round-house.

The introduction did not require much ceremony. After some preliminary remarks, this gentleman expressed his regret that a person of my appearance should have been drawn to the hazardous alternative in which he found me embarked. As this was the first indication of sympathy of which I had, for some time, been sensible, it had its full effect upon me; and I burst into a flood of tears. Without reserve or hesitation, I made a full disclosure of all that had happened: apprising him, of course, with my real name, with that of my father. What was my surprise when this friendly individual informed me, after listening to my story, that he was my countryman, and that he had actually been indebted to my father for his education. He assured me at, the

same time, that it would afford him the highest gratification if he could be of service, either to rescue me altogether from my present forlorn situation, or to promote my comfort if I was determined to persevere. I told him my resolution was fixed; never to set foot in England again. But that there was one way in which he could render me a service of the most essential importance. This was to take the trouble of communicating my situation to some friends in London, whose names I mentioned to him; and whom I thought it possible might be induced to employ such influence as they might be possessed of to obtain for me at the India house, the appointment of a cadet for one of the Indian presidences; which would at once redeem me from my present state of bondage and destitution: an appointment which would place me at the very summit of my ambition.

My new and invaluable friend promised to exert his utmost to serve me, and we then parted. And from this moment I consider that the tide of fortune turned in my favour. It is singular that I should have entirely forgotten the name of the benevolent individual whose timely interposition was so providentially employed to effect my deliverance. I think it must have been either Davies or Evans; and whether the one or the other, has totally escaped my remembrance. Neither do I recollect that I ever saw him afterwards; but I very soon experienced the result of his disinterested exertions on my behalf.

Not many days had been suffered to elapse subsequent to my interview with my Gravesend friend, when one forenoon, I think it was, my attendance was required in the round-house; and to my great surprise I found myself ushered into the presence of an old friend, Dr. Evans. At this distance of time it would be difficult, neither can it be necessary to relate all that passed on the occasion; but the result was

that application either had been, or would be, made to procure me the appointment of cadet. In the meantime he said that he would procure my removal to the Essex Indiaman, of which ship he had accepted the appointment of surgeon; and where during the voyage I should have the advantage of his cabin; together with other conveniences, of which I had by this time, obtained sufficient experience to appreciate the full value.

My kind friend was not unmindful of my situation; for a very few days afterwards I was punctually removed to the Essex; where to my unspeakable relief I found myself admitted to mess with the midshipmen: of whom I was gratified to discover that no less than four were natives of the principality; the second officer, Mr. Smedley, who had recently commanded the Grand Trimmer, a privateer of considerable force, was a North Walesman. I had not however been many days on board, when an occurrence took place which had nearly, at the very outset, made me most prematurely an invalid for life. I was heedlessly looking on in the waist while the people were hoisting in a large spar; and was standing exactly between it and the booms, among which they were about to stow it. Fortunately, perceiving my danger, I made a convulsive spring from between, and escaped with no other injury than a severe crush of my right hand; a scar on the middle finger of which, continues to this day to remind me of my providential escape. The delay of a single instant only, and I must have had either one or both my thighs shattered; and that such a calamity, at a period so early, should have been averted, how deeply ought I to have been impressed with gratitude towards that Almighty Providence, which is never tired of watching over the destiny of erring and sinful man.

From this period, then, to the middle of March, the events must remain a blank in my story, with

one trifling exception, which in the absence of other matter I may here perhaps, be permitted to introduce.

One evening, between eight and nine o'clock, an alarm was given in the afterpart of the ship, that there was a mutiny among the seamen; and the passengers were all summoned to the quarter deck; where pistol and cutlas in hand, we prepared to repel the mischief, whatever it might be that was intended. In the mean time the mutineers had taken post in the long boat, between the main and fore-mast; from whence they amused themselves with heaving, at their opponents on the quarter deck, the nine-pound shot, with which they had furnished themselves from the lockers. What the grievance was of which they pretended to complain, I never could learn; but being all man-of-war's-men, they were probably tired of the laborious duties of a merchant ship in harbour, and took this audacious step, in order to insure their return to the comparatively less burthensome, and more uniform routine, of a ship of war. However, after sundry pistol shots had been discharged at random among them, they thought it prudent to retire to their hammocks, leaving us masters of the deck. Next day a man-of-war's boat came on board, and took away to the number of twelve or fifteen of the most turbulent; who were replaced by others more tractable perhaps, but probably by no means of equal value as thorough bred and able seamen.

On the memorable fifteenth day of March 1781, we finally set sail from England, and certainly the superb and splendid spectacle presented to our observation that day is not easily to be forgotten; for we were accompanied by the grand fleet intended for the relief of Gibraltar under Lord Howe; and by other squadrons destined for America, the West Indies, the Cape of Good Hope, and the East; comprising, as was calculated, not less than fifty sail of the line, and between two and three hundred

merchant ships and transports, of the largest class. The men-of-war, from those of the first rate to those of fifty guns and frigates, passing successively within biscuit throw of the Indiamen, in the narrow space between Southampton water and the north extremity of the Isle of Wight, exhibited every moment such examples of skill and precision as appeared almost magical, in the management of their sails and yards; such indeed as was even then unrivalled among nations. At a subsequent period, perhaps, the British navy, by the experience of many a weathered storm, and many a hard fought conflict, may have attained to higher perfection in discipline: but I will venture to assert that never did England send forth from her shores, a more magnificent display of her maritime power, than in that superb fleet which quitted her harbours on the ides of March 1781.

My recollection does not serve me as to the period at which the several divisions of the convoy separated to their respective destinations. But shortly after crossing the Bay of Biscay, I think the convoy for the Cape of Good Hope and the East Indies, took its course to the southern hemisphere, under the protection, as we then found, of Commodore Johnston in the Romney, of fifty guns, accompanied by the Hero, of seventy four, the Monmouth, of sixty four, the Jupiter and Isis, of fifty each; with three fine frigates and the Kite cutter.

We had on board, destined for the attack of the Cape, a company of the 100th regiment under Captain Alston, a very fine young man, who was afterwards killed in the Bednour campaign, under the unfortunate General Mathews. We had also numerous passengers, cadets and others, for the different presidences in India.

In a few days we were off the Bay of Funchal, in the Island of Maderia; where one of the Indiamen, the Locko, I believe, lost her fore top-mast by one of

those sudden squalls, said not to be unfrequent in that place. We passed, however, without anchoring; one of the ships only, the Jupiter, I believe, being left to take in wine for his excellency, the Commodore. Nothing of importance further occurred until the month of April; towards the early part of which we anchored in Porto Praya Bay, in the sterile Island of St. Jago.

We had continued here some time, taking in some execrable water, and exchanging our old clothes with the wretched Portuguese natives for oranges and plantains, when one fine morning, I think before breakfast, and as far as I can recollect, on Easter Monday, which in 1781, occurred on the 16th of April, it was announced to us that there was a strange fleet in the offing, which all of us soon enough discovered without the aid of glasses. At this critical juncture a considerable part of the crews of the ships of war were on shore filling water; and our own ship, the Essex, in particular, had her gun deck so inconveniently incumbered with boxes of cheese, and other articles of trade, that few, if any, of the guns could be cleared for action, if we had been ever so well inclined. The men-of-war were also anchored in such promiscuous confusion among the convoy, that it seemed scarcely possible to engage without the greatest disadvantage. It was however a most fortunate circumstance that the ship left at Madeira, had rejoined the convoy, although only the day before.

In these circumstances, after some deliberation, it was determined by our superannuated commander, Captain Arthur Morris, and the majority of his officers, that we were not in a state to make any resistance, as it must have been ineffectual against a force so superior; supposing, as was the case, that the fleet in the offing was the combined fleet of France and Spain, dispatched in pursuit of us. The chief officer, Mr. Strover, the boatswain, and some

of the midshipmen, alone deciding to fight the ship.

While we were thus deliberating, a large ship was seen rounding the point to the northward of the bay, closely followed by a second and third; making, under a press of sail, for our anchoring ground. The Hinchingbrook, one of the smaller Indiamen, was lying in that direction, at some distance from the rest of the convoy; and the leading stranger having fired a shot into her, instantly removed all surmise by displaying her white ensign. In a few minutes the leading ship followed by her consorts, all of the line, was in the midst of the convoy; all three discharging their broadsides in every direction.

We had scarcely handed the lady passengers, of whom there were only two on board, down the after hatchway into the midshipmen's berth, when this tremendous firing commenced. My friend the doctor requested me to return to his cabin and bring him his sword, for the purpose of delivering it in form, like a brave gentleman, to the French officer, who would doubtless be soon on board to take possession. While I was thus enacting the part of sword-bearer to my friend, I could over-hear a French valet belonging to Mr. Johnston, one of the passengers for Madras, calling out to one of the enemy's ship alongside, "nous rendons – nous avons fini!"—and I had scarcely gained the coombings of the after hatchway when the tremendous crash of a broadside struck the ship so fearfully, that I was very nearly thrown off my balance. It was soon afterwards announced that a two-and-thirty pound shot had passed through our cut-water; and killed and wounded seven of the ship's company.

It was said that at the commencement of the action the French Hero dropped her anchor close alongside of her namesake, the English Hero, of seventy-four guns, Captain Hawker (I should be sorry to omit his name) mistaking her antagonist, whose ports were down, for one of the Indiamen. If it were a

mistake, it was to us the most fortunate, and to the enemy, most disastrous. Captain Hawker opened his fire from both tiers, with the steadiness and precision of a battery on terra firma. The effect was prodigious; and, I believe, decisive of the conflict. The Frenchman very soon made the best of his way to get clear of the convoy; and in a few minutes, we had the gratification to observe his three masts fall successively over the side, leaving him a complete wreck. The two other ships, finding their reception rather hotter than they expected, deemed it convenient to follow the example of their consort, and made sail to join the fleet in the offing. And seeing no attempt was made to take possession of the dismasted ship, they deliberately put about, and took her in tow: thus, unexpectedly, preventing her capture. The conflict being now over, we were at leisure to canvass the event: and among other circumstances we learnt that the Fortitude Indiaman, after being boarded by the enemy, had slipped her cable and gone to sea. It subsequently appeared that when he saw the ship about to be taken possession of by the enemy, the second officer, Mr. Lloyd, a Welshman, afterwards Captain of the Manship, offered to the commander, Captain Gregory, to save the ship, provided he were permitted to employ a plan of his own. To this the Captain acceded, and Mr. Lloyd, seizing a broad axe, ran forward to the bitts, and with one well directed stroke, cut the cable right across. The ship immediately dropped astern of the enemy; and the boarders, who were dancing up the shrouds for the purpose of loosening the sails, being many of them shot, like so many jackdaws, by the musketry, under Captain Jenkinson of the 100th regiment, the remainder became prisoners, where they entered as conquerers. Thus escaping present danger, the Fortitude put to sea; and although carried considerably to leeward by baffling winds and currents,

fortunately succeeded in rejoining the convoy some days before we quitted St. Jago.

We now further discovered that the squadron by which we had been thus so unceremoniously attacked in a neutral port, consisted of five sail of the line, destined, with the transports in the offing, under Admiral Suffrein, for the reinforcement of the Dutch settlement of the Cape of Good Hope; which, through some indiscretion, had transpired to have been the object of our present armament to attack.

Of these five ships of war, we must observe that three only took part in the action: the other two laying just without us, not firing a single shot that I am aware of: but whether by accident, or design, it was impossible to say. As far as I can recollect, however, it was afterwards understood, that some of his Captains were either put under restraint, or severely censured by Suffrein for their conduct on the occasion: who was, moreover, said to have expressed himself with considerable dissatisfaction, that the important command of a ship of the line should have been conferred through the operation of private interest or patronage.

The ardent spirits among us were now sufficiently loud in their censure of the remissness that could so tamely allow of the escape of the dismasted Frenchman; for it was reported that Sir William Barnaby, and Captain Mackenzie, who commanded the frigates, had offered to attack and take possession of him. Subsequently, indeed, it became known that something had occurred to implicate Captain Sutton of the Isis: in short that he had demurred to the orders of the Commander on the occasion; alleging that from damages sustained in the action, his ship was not in a condition immediately to put to sea. This officer was, at all events, kept in arrest in his own ship long afterwards; and finally tried on this charge on their return to England.

There were, at the same time, not wanting those

who seriously blamed the unaccountable delay by which we had been so long detained at St. Jago; and which had so very nearly terminated in most untoward results.

This detention, however, together with the further delay necessary to repair the injuries sustained in sails and rigging in the action, completely frustrated the attack upon the Cape; where, notwithstanding the remora of their dismasted ship, and the disadvantage of repairing damages at sea, the French fleet arrived in safety: and for the present rendered that important position unassailable. The disappointment to General Medows, and the troops of the expedition under his command, could not be compensated; but our naval chief secured ample compensation in the capture of five Dutch Indiamen in Saldanha Bay. The troops were fortunately permitted to proceed to India, under Colonels Humberstone and Fullarton, (Picton's Fullarton) where their services became of essential importance at a period not long subsequent.

With regard to the disposition of the convoy in Porto Praya Bay, prior to, and during, the attack of the French squadron, it might be said that the anchorage of the men-of-war, without much regard to order, and promiscously with the Indiamen and transports—"the Commodore's broad pennant blushing behind a forest of masts"—was, after all, not without its advantage; for offering to their assailants no distinct, or determinate, points of attack, the enemy were thus compelled to deliver their broadsides prematurely and at random; while the English ships of war, amidst the smoke and confusion, were able to direct their fire with such concentrated and powerful effect, as to have been very soon decisive of the conflict. At the same time, however, it cannot be denied, that the fire of the Indiamen that took part in the action, although from nine-pounders only, must have had considerable effect in dismantling the enemy, and driving him sooner to sea.

But those are points, on which, from my very limited knowledge of naval discipline, either then or since acquired, I could scarcely venture to give an opinion.

After ten days or a fortnight, having completed the necessary repairs, the convoy at length quitted St. Jago, and proceeded to sea. In hauling out of the Bay our good ship, the Essex, had the mishap of tailing, as the sailors call it, on a sunken rock at the southern extremity; without however sustaining any injury, although the circumstance produced among many of us, some melancholy anticipations as to the fate of our voyage. We gained the truly delightful "trades," and passed without injury through the region of calms and tornado squalls; so invariably prevailing in the proximity of the equinoctial; in crossing which I became, with many others, a freeman of both hemispheres, by undergoing the operation of shaving with a rusty iron hoop, by the hand of one of the Tritons, and the ceremony of ablution in a bath of not the sweetest scented waters; with Neptune and Amphitrite for my sponsors.

Again in passing through the southern trade, we experienced for ten days or a fortnight, that delightful uniformity of weather and temperature, which has been too faithfully described and accounted for by navigators, to require from me any further remark. It is almost literally true that for this period we scarcely touched either brace or bow line; and we gained our southern latitudes with surprising rapidity. When we had now got well to the southward, a signal from the commodore one day, indicated to us that as he was about to bear up for the Cape of Good Hope: the Essex, and sundry other Indiamen of which the names, with one exception, have escaped my remembrance, were to separate from the convoy, and make the best of their way to India. To those among us who were ambitious of sharing in the glory of an attack upon the Cape, this may have

proved an unwelcomed signal; but by most I believe it was hailed with satisfaction. We accordingly bent our course directly to the southward, and we reached the latitude of 47°; when, considering ourselves tolerably secure against marauders, whether French or Dutch, we shaped our course directly East for the Indian ocean.

It was about the middle of June, the mid-winter, as it will be well understood, of the southern hemisphere, having experienced our full share of the cold and sleets, and boisterous weather, incidental to those latitudes, in the winter season at least, we were, with the wind almost astern, making a favorable and rapid progress to the East, when that occurred which nearly put a period to all our teeming hopes, and brought our voyage to a premature and awful termination.

One night, about the hour of nine, while we were thus advancing in our progress with prospects so flattering—the wind blowing very fresh, and, passengers, and all on board, excepting the watch, were retired to their resting places—as I lay awake in the steerage, I heard the third officer, Mr. Bartlett, afterwards Captain of the Contractor Indiaman, suddenly exclaim "Lord have mercy upon us! here's a ship on board!" These appalling words had scarcely escaped his lips a second or two, when the dreaded shock came, which instantly laid us on our beam ends; and in a moment we were in utter darkness. At a crisis so full of terror to the most intrepid, I rushed into the cabin of my kind friend, the Doctor, whom I found setting up in his cot, endeavouring to pray; for he confessed that he could not find words in which to express himself. For my own part, I felt my faculties so completely stunned at the apparent hopelessness of our situation, that I could only appeal in silence, for mercy, to Him whose goodness is confined to no situation—and whose mercy is over all his works. In truth, having

resigned all hopes of safety or escape, I was listening in awful expectation, for the rush of waters through the hatchways, which was to bury us for ever under the mountain waves, that were raging all around.

I do not believe that, at that moment, there was a man in the ship who did not consider that we were on the verge of eternity. An awful silence still prevailed; and indescribable was our relief, when that silence was broken, by the exclamation of the same officer—"She rights! she rights! thank God she rights!" I felt as if a mountain had been removed from my breast. In a few minutes I hastened upon deck, and to my great delight, found the moon shining in full lustre, from a break in the heavy mass of clouds, that were scudding over head; which enabled me to discover that our sturdy ship had escaped, with no other injury than a complete brush in the upperworks of the starboard side of the quarter-deck, between the main and mizen masts—and the snapping of a rope or two in the rigging.

It was most providential that the strange ship should have struck us between the main and mizen masts: for, had the stroke been received more a midships, between the main and fore mast, we should have become so entangled in our rigging, that, in all probability, from that circumstance, and the fearful collision occasioned by the heavy sea, either one or both must have been engulphed in the abyss of water. As it happened, however, both going, with considerable velocity, on opposite tacks, the stranger striking us where she did, we fell completely over on the opposite side, and she became instantly disengaged, with no other mischief to us than has been already described.

How this ship, although proceeding to the same destination, should have altered her course, and come down upon us in the manner she did, was, as far as I know, never accounted for. Some, however,

were disposed to lay the blame upon the Essex, because, as Commodore, she neglected to carry a light abaft; but in both ships, much and heavy responsibility, rested upon those who had the look out on the fore-castle; for as far as regards the Essex, the first to perceive the danger, was, as I have already said, the officer of the watch on the quarter-deck. And perhaps the instinctive putting down of the helm by the men at the wheel, may, under Providence, have been the immediate cause that our collision did not terminate more fatally.

The return of day discovered to us the party to whom we were indebted for the last night's scene of alarm and danger; in perceiving that the Southampton, one of our consorts, had lost her bowsprit; and it appeared wonderful that she could have continued, in such a sea, and during such boisterous weather, to keep her fore-mast standing. We, however, soon lost sight of her, without any communication, as well as of the other ships—of whom we saw nothing further, until our arrival in India.

As we could not immediately ascertain how far the hull of the ship had been injured, or how far her timbers had been loosened, by the tremendous shock she had thus sustained; it became the subject of deliberation in what manner to proceed, should it so happen that she sprung a leak: and it was in sorrow, determined, in such a case, to endeavour to reach the Mauritius, then somewhere under our lee, as the only alternative to preserve the lives of the people on board. But, as daily experience soon taught us that the strength of the ship, being a new one, on her first voyage, was unimpaired, and nothing occurred to make us apprehend a leak, we were spared that desperate alternative; and we proceeded on our voyage without altering our course.

Thus continuing our voyage, and finally, escaping without further accident from the region of storms and mountain billows—we no sooner entered again

the limits of the south-east trade, than all our apprehensions gradually faded away; neither does my recollection furnish me with a single occurrence worth the relation, until we made the Pulicat hills, of the coast of Coromandel, on the 24th August, 1781—on which day we anchored, in perfect safety, in Madras roads; just one hundred and sixty-two days from the period at which we quitted Portsmouth.

CHAPTER III.

At the very moment we were congratulating ourselves on our escape from the vicissitudes of a tedious voyage, and had scarcely adjusted our moorings—our attention was suddenly attracted towards a strange sail in the offing, bearing down directly upon us under a press of canvas; and it became immediately necessary to prepare the ship for action. Accordingly the guns were cleared, and the men, with lighted matches, stood to their quarters; the stranger still coming down under a press of sail without shewing any colours. When, on approaching, she at last condescended to display them, we could only perceive the tail part, which was *white;* and not a doubt now remained that we were about to be attacked and boarded by a French frigate. Fortunately, just as the word-fire! was about to be given, Mr. Strover, the chief officer, standing at the gangway, hailed the stranger—demanding "what ship?" to our glad surprise, the answer was "the Success Galley"—a ship belonging to the Navab of Arcot, commanded by Captain Fenwick.

I was now about to set foot on that land of wonders, where I was destined to pass the bloom and vigour of life. To enable me to commence my course with the common decency of exterior, I must have been indebted to the never-failing benevolence of my kind and friendly relative, Dr. Evans; for I did not possess a single shilling of my own. Among other marks of friendship, he now presented me with his own excellent cut-and-thrust sword; which I wore for many years afterwards. It is with considerable gratification that I record such acts of kindness, simple as they may appear; because they

furnish some proof that true friendship is not so rare a quality in the world as some people may feel disposed to represent. Having, for the present, bid adieu to the ship in which I had been uniformly well treated, we committed ourselves to the protection of that elastic and curious craft, a Massula boat; and passing, not without some alarm, through that triple range of foaming surf, which, almost from end to end, begirts the coast of Coromandel; we safely landed at last, under the sea wall of the formidable and beautiful structure—Fort St. George.

I have employed the simple, but sometimes arrogant, monosyllable *we*, because there landed together from the Essex, sundry cadets for the different establishments; whose names, as far as at this distance of time, I can recal to memory, were as follow':—for Bengal, Messrs. Green, Houston, and I think, Kelly; and for Madras, Messrs. James George Graham, Taylor, Blacker, Yates, and Wright. As far as my recollection serves me, these were all. Either the same day or day following, we presented ourselves to Major Sydenham, at the town-major's office, in the fort square: through whose interposition with government, then under the direction of Lord Macartney, I presently received an advance of two months cadets' pay. In the meantime we had taken up our abode at Richard's Hotel, on the outskirts of that arid plain, which then extended from the glacis of the fort to the suburbs known by the designation of the Black Town; where we were hospitably entertained at a pagoda (8s.) a-day; our daily pay as cadets, amounting to no more than one rupee (2s. 6d.) so that it might have been almost truly said, that we spent—" half-a-crown out of sixpence a-day."

This was however a system of finance too ruinous to be permanent; and I accordingly removed, at the expiration of a few days, and by the recommendation of some friends in the Essex, to a residence more

congenial with the constitution of my purse: to a kind of eating-house, in the vicinity of Popham-street, kept by a Frenchman who had been cook to Sir Robert Harland, one of the Admirals who had recently commanded the squadron in India. I regret that I should have entirely forgotten the name of this kind-hearted foreigner; who, for the short time during which I remained under his roof, behaved to me with an attention almost paternal.

I cannot omit to mention that during one of my calls at the town-major's office, I met for the first time, with my brave and upright friend, Andrew Foster; who happened to be a cadet for the same establishment; to whom Captain, afterwards Admiral, Mitchell, gave a passage to Bombay in the Coventry frigate; and with whom I maintained an intercourse of affectionate intimacy, to the period at which, many years afterwards, he fell mortally wounded before Darwar.

By this time my kind friend Dr. Evans, had landed, and taken up his residence at a garden house, or villa, belonging to the Rev. Mr. Bainbridge, then chaplain to the presidency; and situated, as it happened, at the lower end of the street in which I had taken up my quarters. His health, I knew not how, had become greatly impaired. Yet he did not then, nor some time afterwards, seem to entertain any apprehensions that his illness would terminate seriously. Here I regularly called upon him at least once a day; occasionally, at his request, turning into the *godown*,* or warehouse, where under the care of a dubash, or native agent, his investment had been lodged. But his medical advisers, considering that his situation at the garden-house was not the most salubrious, he was afterwards removed to apartments in the church

* *Godown*—the common name, among the English, in the west of India, for a ware, or store-house. It is believed to be the Portugese Godäu, of like import. ED.

steeple, also belonging to Mr. Bainbridge, where he was most airily lodged, and where, at the expiration of a very few days, I took leave of him for ever.

As I shall not be called upon to mention the name of my excellent friend but on one, no very important occasion more, I am here induced to state, although I was not aware of it for many years afterwards, that he never quitted his abode in the church tower at Madras, until conveyed to his last home, the grave.

It became now known that, instead of proceeding immediately to her destination, the presidency of Bombay, the Essex was detained to accompany the squadron under Sir Edward Hughes, with stores for the force then assembling to the southward, under Sir Hector Munro, for the attack of the important Dutch settlement of Negapatam, more properly Nagapatan, the city of the Snake.—Upon this, taking a last leave of my excellent friend on his bed of sickness, I returned on board the Essex; and resumed my berth under circumstances not a little improved.

Of the celebrated presidency, of which I am about to take my leave, I was then qualified to form but a very inadequate opinion. For the complexion of its sable inhabitants, the native population, I was pretty well prepared, by what I had seen of the Portugueze subjects, in the Island of St. Jago. I possessed neither the means nor opportunity of witnessing either the manners or personal appearance, of the more opulent and respectable classes; but among the kanicopulas or scribes, and dubashes, in spite of their complexion, which is of the darkest shade, I could reckon many a form, as faultless in symmetry, and handsome in features, as is to be found in climates most favoured under heaven. Of the field which it offered for the display of European talent, it may proudly boast, in the production of such men as Barry Close, Thomas Munro, and John Malcolm.

It will be remembered that at the period of which

I am writing, the *lootiahs*, or plundering marauders, of Hyder Ally's armies, were sweeping the Carnatic, to the very gates of the town of Madras. The small corps of cadets proceeding to their station of instruction at Ponamalee, a distance of not more than fifteen miles, were attacked on their march; and considered it rather fortunate to have escaped capture. The whole of the open country might in truth have been considered in possession of the enemy; and must have presented a frightful scene of desolation and misery, from one extremity to the other. The metropolis itself, although I could never perceive the slightest appearance of despondence, must have relied for security, on the protection alone of that small, and gallant, and well disciplined, band of soldiers, King's and company's, never more than seven thousand strong; animated, however, by their confidence in the tempered skill, valour, and experience, of that able and gallant veteran, Sir Eyre Coote.

It is, indeed, impossible to reflect without admiration, on the ability and firmness of soul, which, with numbers so disproportionate, should have found resources to make head against, and baffle, with such triumphant success, the overwhelming myriads, and well-served artillery, by which that devoted band of heroes in the Carnatic, were so fiercely and frequently assailed. Neither is it more than fair to infer, that the lustre shed in those days, on the character of our Indian army, has largely contributed to secure the glorious results of those memorable conflicts, which have more recently, given to old England the empire of the east.

Preparatory to our departure to the southward, we received on board as passengers Colonel, afterwards Sir Henry, Cosby, and his two fair daughters; and, though last not least, Major Giel, an able and distinguished officer of artillery on the Madras establishment; appointed, as we afterwards found, to

conduct the seige of Negapatam. It is with gratitude I record the name of this distinguished soldier; for able and distinguished he certainly was, although, for reasons with which I am but imperfectly acquainted, he became, at a period long subsequent, unpopular. I may now proceed to state, that some time prior to the latter end of September we quitted Madras roads, and made sail to the southward.

In a very few days, perhaps not more than three or four, we came to an anchor off the black Pagodas, at the termination of a long beach, some miles to the northward of Negapatam. The Dutch troops had not, to this moment, quitted their post at the great Pagoda; but in a very little time, we perceived a detachment of them retiring along the beach, towards some lines which had been thrown up in front of a thick grove of cocoa-nut trees—extending a considerable way inland. The retiring detachment was composed of Europeans, and seemed to move with some celerity; a few British cavalry manœuvering on their flank, behind the sand hills parallel with the sea shore. This was the first occasion on which I had witnessed the movements of an enemy, in any number, on terra firma; and the excitement produced was very considerable.

Under these circumstances, the very next day I went on shore—and, by some means or other, I cannot, at this moment, exactly tell how, obtained access to the presence of Major-general Sir Hector Munro; who had established his head-quarters either in or near the great Pagoda. I mentioned what I was, and respectfully requested his permission to serve as a volunteer, during the impending siege. My reception was rather inauspicious, and his answer sufficiently brief;—my services, he said, would be more properly employed in my own establishment, and that he could not undertake to detain me. I have still in my eye the General's very unpretending exterior. He wore a dusky, red,

Bengal silk coat, and I think, a straw sombreiro, covered with green silk. The appearance would be now thought remarkable; but we have since become more fastidious on these points.

As I was about to return on board, I accidentally met with Maj. Giel, who had frequently expressed his wish to be of service to me, during the short time he was on board the Essex; and I mentioned to him what had passed during my interview with the General. He advised me to come on shore again the day following, and he would introduce me at head-quarters; with little doubt of succeeding in my application. I slept on board that night, and about day-break next morning, being aroused by a heavy discharge of cannon and musketry on shore, I hastened into the main shrouds, and their beheld a sheet of fire extending along the whole of the enemy's lines, in front of the cocoa-nut grove. It was, however, the spectacle of only a few minutes continuance—when all became silent; the enemy having withdrawn towards the town, and our troops having made themselves masters of the position, after a very short resistance and very little loss.

A scene of such heart-stirring success, occuring just under our noses, could not well pass without producing some very lively impressions. Again I hastened on shore, rather against the inclination of the Captain of the Essex; and finding Maj. Giel somewhere within the precincts of head-quarters, he told me that without the necessity of any further introduction to the General I should find myself in orders to do duty with the southern army, as an acting Ensign. Accordingly, a few hours afterwards, it was announced to me that I was to join the light infantry battalion of Sepoys, commanded by Capt. Hugh Wheeler.

I immediately brought on shore my lightly furnished equipment, consisting of a few changes of linen only, a sash, and sword, and I believe, a boat

cloak. I was kindly received on presenting myself, by Capt. Wheeler; and I found that my shipmate, Mr. James George Graham, was attached to the same corps. The names of the other officers have totally escaped my memory.

We had not yet broke ground against the works of the place, which consisted of a strong wall with spacious bastions; but without covert way, or outwork of any description. At such a moment of apparent inaction, I was induced, with some other young men as thoughtless as myself, to walk through the intervening cocoa-nut wood, for the purpose of staring at the fortifications of the town. If this had been all, our curiosity would have been comparatively blameless; but at the corner of a spacious country house, within about eight hundred yards of the works, we found Maj. Giel, quietly marking out the ground for the openings of our first parellel, and for a battery of eighteen-pounders. Without at all reflecting on the mischief it might have occasioned, by drawing the fire of the garrison upon the spot, we absurdly crowded round the Major to his equal annoyance and displeasure, which he did not fail to express, in terms of very just and mortifying reproof;—such, indeed, as I felt so deeply, that I could never afterwards muster sufficient resolution to call upon him.

The corps with which I was about to commence my course as a soldier, was one recently raised in the Polygar districts; the front rank only being armed with fire-locks: while the rear carried spears about twelve feet long, which by being brought to the charge, might be employed to protect the front rank, while re-loading.

Some days after I had joined, I was ordered with a detachment of the battalion, as a guard, to an opening in the lines, from which the Dutch had been recently driven; for the purpose, in effect, of covering that part against surprise from Hyder Ally's

troops, known to be at no great distance. I have already described the scanty state of my equipment, which did not include a single resource against hunger and thirst. I had been taught the manual exercise, and the facings, on the voyage out, to the great annoyance of Capt. Morris, by my selecting the poop for my initiatory manipulations: and this must have been the full extent of my military science at the time. Fortunately, my first picquet was attended by a sober, active, and experienced serjeant; to whom I was indebted, not only for instruction, but for my subsistence, for the four-and-twenty hours, during which I was in the performance of this my first tour of duty.

We experienced, however, during this period, no other disturbance than what was occasioned by the havoc among the cocoa-nut trees, produced by the shot from the town, directed against our working parties.

At the distance of time at which I am writing, (Dec. 1834) it would be scarcely possible to describe the transactions of the siege precisely in the order in which they occurred. I must not omit to state that the squadron under Sir Edward Hughes, consisting of five or six sail of the line, lay off the town; and by an occasional shot took in reverse, and enfiladed that part of the defences which we were attacking in front; and a strong body of seamen and marines was landed to assist in the operations of the siege.

The attack on our side was now making considerable progress. The first parallel had been completed, without much interruption from the enemy; further than what was occasioned by the artillery from the works. And a battery for eighteen-pounders, had been finished, with its right shoulder supported by the country house of which I have formerly spoken. Under these circumstances it must have been, that the garrison, one day about noon, made a sortie, for the purpose of demolishing

the battery, or spiking the guns. The sally was repulsed, without effecting any mischief. As I was hastening to the parade of the battalion, I met a palankin, which was carrying to his tent, Capt. Richard Scott of the Madras establishment, who had received a musket shot in the breast. The circumstance left a deeper impression on my mind; because the day before only, after dinner at Capt. Wheeler's, I heard him sing with considerable animation, the lines on the taking of fort Omoa, on the Spanish main. Of this wound, Capt. Scott was long in recovering; but I met him occasionally at Capt. Wheeler's, after the reduction of the town.

Rumours were now afloat, that we might possibly be disturbed in our operations by some movement on the part of Hyder Ally's numerous armies. But independently of this, the usual precaution of out guards must long before have been regularly resorted to. However, one evening at this time, it was my lot to be ordered, with another detachment of the battalion, to place myself under the direction of Lieut. Sampson of the Madras cavalry; who was proceeding with a troop of his corps, to occupy as grand guard, a village on the Tanjore road, at the distance of some miles. I could not but consider myself very fortunate in finding myself under the instruction of such a man: for he was not less distinguished as a brave and active cavalry officer, than respected as a member of society by the whole army. And here again, if left to my own resources I might have perished with hunger; were it not that I was invited to partake, to the utmost, in the contents of this gallant officer's pantry and camp case.

Having terminated this our sociable tour of duty without annoyance of any kind, we rejoined our corps; and as far as I can recollect I never saw Lieut. Sampson afterwards.

I shall here just take the opportunity of observing on the subject of this gallant officer, that soon after

the reduction of Negapatam, a part of the force employed in the siege, was directed to return towards Tanjore, under the command of Col. Braithwaite, to whom Lieut. Sampson was appointed either Maj. of Brigade or Aid-de-camp. This corps, it will be remembered, although two thousand strong, was attacked on its march by a very superior force of Hyder Ally's troops under Tippo Saheb in person; and the whole either destroyed or made prisoners. Among the latter were both Col. Braithwaite and Mr. Sampson. The latter died in captivity; but the Colonel survived to be restored to liberty; and to attain to some of the most distinguished commands in the service.

I shall now return to the operations, in the outline only, of the seige; which was by this time drawing rapidly towards the closing scene. The breach which our artillery, worked by seamen, was employed to effect, being, as far as my recollection serves, in the face of an opposite bastion and the curtain adjoining, was hourly rendered wider and more practicable; and arrangements were spoken of preparatory to the storming of the fort. This was the state of things, when one evening, after night fall, while at dinner at the pioneer's quarters with Lieut. Brown, a Madras officer, then well known for his active and enterprising character; a sharp firing of musketry in the direction of the trenches, announced to us an attack, on the part of the garrison. Without a moment's reflection, instead of repairing as I ought to have done, to my alarm post, the parade of the battalion, I hurried away, with others as thoughtless as myself, directly to the scene of action.

The road by which we were going down, was that by which the enemy naturally expected such reinforcements would approach, as would doubtless be hastening to the support of the trenches: and they had accordingly employed a part of the troops, which had sallied from the town, to keep up a fire in that

direction ; and we thus received it right in our faces; although, from being discharged at random, without the smallest effect. I had scarcely reached the left of our first parallel, when the animating and splendid spectacle of a volley and charge, into the very thickest of the enemy, by a body of marines under Lieut. Skinner of the Superb, who had just cleared the parapet to the attack, met my view. The Dutch troops immediately broke, and retired into the town gate ; leaving many dead and dying in front of our approaches. Some of the wounded were found in our very trench. It was afterwards understood that the town-major of the garrison, who conducted the sortie, was badly wounded on the occasion.

The resolution of the garrison seems to have expended itself in this last attempt to disturb our operations. The very next day, I think it was, they sent out to propose a capitulation. Of this the terms appeared to have been arranged with little difficulty ; and part of the besieging force, including Capt. Wheeler's battalion, took up their quarters in the town. This we found to be very extensive and full of people ; a wide and spacious street leading from the gate by which we entered, to the left of the breach to the citadel—which presented, to our no small surprise, a neat pentagon, of no great extent, it is true, but regularly fortified, with ditch and out-works. The dwelling-houses of the European inhabitants were pleasantly situated, along the outskirts of the glacis ; covered in front by shady trees, which afforded the most agreeable shelter against the debilitating heat of a sunny climate.

One fact of considerable importance I had almost forgotten to state, which must add considerable weight to the success of our enterprise. The very night before they agreed to surrender, the Dutch authorities had dismissed from the place a body of not less than seven thousand of Hyder Ally's troops, who had aided in the defence of the town, and who

were thus enabled to make their escape by way of a morass, or swampy tract, said to cover the town on the south-western side; and which the besiegers were not in sufficient force to invest in that quarter. And little doubt can be entertained that this same body composed part of the force which shortly afterwards, under Tippo Saheb, effected the destruction of the detachment under Col. Braithwaite.

During the whole of the period in which I remained at Negapatam, which could not have been less than two months, I was a constant guest at Capt. Wheeler's hospitable table. To his disinterested kindness I am most deeply indebted. The ordinary occurrences of a garrison in a state of inaction, and secure against alarm, were not of sufficient weight to make any lasting impression on my mind. The rainy season had commenced; and about the end of October or beginning of November, the squadron under Sir Edward Hughes, with the attendant Indiamen, was driven to sea, by the tempestuous weather incidental to the season. Neither was it until the expiration of ten days or a fortnight, that the royal squadron, was able to regain its anchorage in the offing.

It was during this interval of inaction that the following circumstance, the only one of the kind that ever come to my knowledge, was related to me; and as I have every reason to believe that it was substantially true, and at this distance of time cannot be productive of injury to any one, I do not hesitate to introduce it in this place.

Not many years before, at the station of Rajamundry, some distance above the mouth of the river Godavery, the usual arrangement had taken place preparatory to the cremation of a Brahmin's widow, on the funeral pile of her husband. The widow was known to be young and beautiful; and two officers on duty in the Madras detachment at the station, determined, at whatever risk, if possible, to carry

her off. As usual, the people of the country had assembled in crowds, to witness the frightful spectacle of self immolation: and the intended Suttee had been conducted to the apalling scene. One of the officers, leaving his horse and gig in charge of his companion, made his way good to the spot; and instantly seizing the lovely victim in his arms, passed with her, without resistance, through the astonished multitude. And having seated her in the gig, amidst the uproar of thousands, succeeded in bearing her safely away. This identical female, although her form had become more robust and matronly in its proportions than I had been prepared to expect, I had frequent opportunities of seeing, in the family of my friendly commandant, while at Negapatam; and it were perhaps, needless to add that he was himself the officer who achieved this romantic and rather perilous adventure.

According to some premature arrangement, the compact little citadel of Negapatam had, it seems, been doomed to demolition; and the pioneers were engaged in undermining the different works. One of the principal bastions had been already blown asunder and tumbled into the ditch, when orders arrived from Madras, directing that it should be preserved uninjured; as likely to remain in the possession of its present masters. And in this state it was when I left it.

The period was now arrived when I was to quit the coast altogether: orders having been given by the Admiral that the Essex should furnish a passage for those officers destined for Bombay, who had served with the army during the siege. I was the only individual so destined belonging to that presidency. The other officers adverted to, were Lieuts. Henry Anderson, O'Donnel, and Christopher Smith, and Messrs. Plumer and Litton, belonging to the Bengal establishment, and proceeding to join the army under Gen. Goddard, then acting against the

Mahratta confederacy on the western side of the Peninsula. Of these four gentlemen, three have long since paid the penalty of the fall. But the former, I rejoice to find, still survives a Colonel in the service and a companion of the Bath--after having at subsequent periods frequently distinguished himself; and more particularly in Col. Monson's disastrous retreat on the Chumbul.

Late in the month of December, as far as I can recollect, I returned on board the Essex; the four officers above named embarking at the same time. And I thus found myself, in consequence of the Admiral's orders, translated, at once, from the humble midshipman's berth, to the sumptuous luxuries of the Captain's table. It soon became known that the squadron was to take on board, a volunteer corps of five hundred Madras sepoys, under the command of Maj. Bonnevaux, a Swiss officer, belonging to that establishment; designed to aid the naval force in an attack upon the important maritime station of Trincomalee. Again my shipmates and myself volunteered our services; which were readily accepted.

It must have been during the first days of the month of January 1782, that we anchored off the old fort of Trincomalee; but something to the northward, and a landing was almost immediately effected on the narrow neck which separates the interior, or real harbour, from the sea to the eastward. The lower fort, after a futile attempt to negociate, was taken possession of, principally through the address, and presence of mind, of Maj. Geil, who was again present to conduct our operations.

After some struggle with a Dutch officer, who endeavoured to keep the gate shut with one hand, while he presented the terms of capitulation with the other, the Major with a small party of marines, entered, and put an end to the argument without bloodshed.

The old fort of Trincomalee had not, however, been expected to make any very serious resistance; being commanded by the hill close in the rear, and terminating in the projecting point immediately to the southward. On the other extremity of this hill-range to the westward, stood fort Ostenburg, erected to protect the narrow entrance into the spacious, and excellent inner harbour of Trincomalee from the southward. This entrance is scarcely a musket shot across; and any ship that might attempt to pass would be exposed, not only to the fire of some heavy guns at the waters' edge, but to that of the works immediately above, on the abrupt and precipitous point; which would plunge destructively into their very decks. I need not add that this harbour has hitherto been considered one of the finest, and safest in the world; being completely land-locked on every side.

As it was suspected that Ostenburg might be but inadequately defended to the eastward, it was determined to assail it immediately on that side. And towards evening, accordingly, the whole landed force of seamen, marines, and sepoys, amounting altogether to about fifteen hundred men, ascended the hill to the southward, and occupied a position right across the ridge, amidst the rocks and jungle, about half a mile to the eastward of the Dutch line. As we scorned the incumbrance of tents or camp equipage of any kind, the sepoys formed for themselves and officers, some species of cover, with branches of trees—smoothing the rugged surface as well as possible for repose. This, however, we were not long permitted to enjoy; as the enemy very soon discerning our situation, proceeded to launch against us both shot and shell, with little intermission while we remained. This lavish expenditure of powder and shot, produced but little effect; as we were cautioned not to shew ourselves either individually or collectively. The bursting of the enemy's shells,

however annoying, was not the only circumstance that disturbed our repose;—when we lay down we were perpetually attacked by scores of venemous red ants, with fangs the most tenacious of any thing of kind that I had ever witnessed.

At night-fall of the day following, as far as I can recollect, we moved forwards, and took post under cover of the little hill, which on that side commands the fort, at the distance, perhaps, of something more than a musquet shot; this the enemy had neglected to fortify or secure. At this moment of excitement some of the young and ardent spirits amongst us, proposed, with little deliberation, to make an immediate attack upon the place. The proposal, however, was overruled by the discreeter judgment of Lieuts. Hughes and Clarke of the navy, whose riper years and staid experience, operated as a wholesome check against the adoption of what might be justly deemed a very rash proceeding.

Early the ensuing day, Maj. Geil repaired to our post, and, displaying a flag of truce on the little hill in our front, presented himself for admission to the fort. After some demur, because, as they said, instead of approaching by the ordinary road as regularly he should have done, he had presented himself at the very point from which they expected to be attacked, he was blind-folded and conducted into the fort.

As far as we were permitted to know, the Major was charged on this occasion with a message from the Admiral to the Governor, with whom he had very recently been on friendly terms; intreating him to avoid an unnecessary effusion of blood, by surrendering the place to the powerful British armament now before it. To this request he gave a peremptory refusal—and our messenger of peace soon afterwards returned, informing us of what we had previously been unable to ascertain, that the enemy's line of works in our front had no ditch.

The day passed, and the evening arrived, of the 7th of January, 1782, when Capt. Gell, of the Monarca, afterwards Adm. Gell, came to assume the command; announcing the order that we were to storm the place before day-light the next morning. "Parole, Amboyna, Countersign, Britons strike home." Our preparations were soon made; for we had nothing to get in readiness but our arms.

Immediately on the first gleam of day-light, the word passed in a whisper to stand to our arms; and then to move forwards to the assault; the marines and seamen leading. It was an awful moment; and the leading files had scarcely topped the summit of the little hill, when every piece of ordnance on the enemy's works opened upon us at once, with a tremendous discharge of round shot, grape, and langridge. The effect for a few seconds was sufficiently destructive; but the sense of danger seemed to have been dispelled at the very first discharge. The head of the column had, in a few minutes, surmounted the salient angle in the centre of the line of defence; and passing round to the rear, thence ascended the large cavalier tower in the gorge of the redan; putting to the bayonet the Dutch artillerymen, who continued to the last to work their guns. The small redans on our flanks, soon ceased firing, when the garrison perceived that we were in possession of the cavalier.

It was now full day-light; and the colours of the volunteer battalion of sepoys having been placed in my charge, I had, on entering the cavalier, siezed the union flag, and planted it on the open side, overlooking the principal street. The instant it was displayed, some of the naval officers from below hailed me to say that if that flag was not immediately removed, they would fire upon it. I made no difficulty in complying with this menacing request, the motive of which I was, however, then little aware of: but I afterwards understood, that it appeared as if I

were taking possession of the place for my masters, the East India company.

I then descended into the principal street, along which I proceeded accompanied by a Lieut. of marines, whose name as far as I can recollect, was Lake; and at the termination, or western extremity, of the street we found ourselves at the door of the governor's quarters. We were here joined by Mr. Jones, then a midshipman, and either a son or nephew of Lord Ranelagh's; with whom we entered without much ceremony. The first object we encountered on our entrance, was a lady, whom we found to be the governor's wife. She most piteously implored that we would save her husband from the apprehended violence of the stormers. The governor made his appearance shortly afterwards from an inner apartment; and we should have been more than brutes had we withheld our protection.

Many of the seamen and marines now came in; but there did not exist the smallest difficulty in restraining them from violence. Indeed during the whole of this scene of havoc and confusion, I cannot in justice say that I witnessed a single instance of outrage in any shape. Certainly no other act of violence than that of breaking up a few chests and boxes, which were for a moment supposed to contain treasure; but which, as they exhibited, when opened, nothing but a quantity of copper coin for the payment of the garrison, we left undiminished.

The Lieut. of marines and myself—for the powerful excitement or a common sense of danger, seems to have created between us the most kindly union, although we never met either before or afterwards—next descended together to the lower line of works on the water-side; near which two Dutch Indiamen lay at their moorings. What must have been our astonishment, when we found ourselves in the presence of a strong body of Dutch troops under arms. They exhibited, however, no appearance of

hostility; and some of them beckoned to us to approach; when, to our great relief, they announced to us that they surrendered. After shaking hands with many of them, we left them in perfect good humour. And as if determined to carry our foolhardiness to the utmost we fearlessly took boat and boarded the nearest Indiaman. The officers received us with a civility which we could have had but little right to expect; placing before us all sorts of refreshment. This mild forbearance was, nevertheless, easily accounted for, when we observed the deck in many places, ploughed by the musket shot poured upon them from above, by the storming party. The Dutch commanders only waited to be taken possession of, together with the very valuable cargo of gold dust which they had on board.

Returning on shore, and hearing an extraordinary clatter, occasioned by the breaking open of chests and boxes, we entered one of the houses; and observing several very neatly finished cabinets, we were tempted to open one or two of them. To our disappointment we found them to contain, instead of jewels and precious stones of the island of Ceylon, some beautifully selected shells, regularly arranged and assorted in compartments. I am compelled to acknowledge having appropriated each of us one; which, if the provost martial had been at hand, might have been almost as much as our necks were worth. We conveyed them, however, to the upper fort; and as I despaired of a better opportunity of communicating with my kind friend, Dr. Evans, I consigned this, my share of the booty, to the care of my new acquaintance the Lieut. of marines; with the request, to which he promised faithfully to attend, that on his first visit to Madras, he would deliver it in my name to my friend the doctor. Whether the latter was then yet living I was not aware; and whether my humble commission was executed, I never learned; I am disposed to think that the

Lieutenant fell in some of the actions at a subsequent period, between Sir Edward Hughes's squadron and that of the French Adm. Suffrein.

The casualities resulting from the brief but animated conflict, which as far as without notes, my recollection enables me to describe, were rather heavy for the time it lasted. They amounted to about one hundred killed and wounded; of whom thirty were of our sepoy volunteers. Among those who fell mortally wounded, and much regretted on this occasion, as a brave intelligent, and active officer, was Lieut. Long, of the navy. I passed him as he lay bleeding on the ground; and all he said was "do not mind me—go on."

I now rejoined my associates of the Bengal establishment, who had taken up their quarters in the upper fort; and we there remained until the day following; when, the service for which we had volunteered having been thus happily concluded, we took leave of our temporary commandant, Maj. Bonnevaux, who was appointed to take the command of fort Ostenburg; and withdrew together to the old town of Trincomalee. The governor's lady still clung to our protection; and under Lieut. O'Donnel's arm, accompanied us to the lower town.

It was afterwards understood that the unfortunate governor, or commandant, of fort Ostenburg, experienced from Sir Edward Hughes, the most humiliating reception; in consequence of the unnecessary effusion of blood, of which his obstinate refusal to capitulate had been the occasion. But this was not likely to diminish the merit of the defence, in the opinion of his countrymen; and there might exist many reasons in the breast of a brave man, why he should decline the counsels of the enemy, as to the propriety, or impropriety, of a resolute defence of his post. In the case of our unfortunate Hollander, it is not impossible that he had been advised of the expected approach of a superior

French force, which must at this period, have been on its way from the Cape ; and the chapter of accidents might have brought it in time to incommode the operations of his besiegers. But there was one alternative from which he ought not to have shrunk : having exposed those under his authority to the hazards of an assault, it was at least expected that he should personally have shared in the danger. This, I rather apprehend, he omitted to do.

As there seemed to be nothing of sufficient importance to detain us on shore, we embarked once more on board the Essex; which had now received the Admiral's permission to proceed on her voyage to Bombay. During our absence of a few days, Capt. Arthur Morris, the veteran Commander of the Essex, had closed his mortal career; a martyr to the gout, that plague of good living. Naturally humane and gentlemanly in his disposition, the temper of Capt. Morris had doubtless been much embittered by the loss, in a former voyage, of his ship, the Colebrooke, at the entrance of Table Bay; and his disappointment in being so long detained with the British squadron on this occasion ; so detrimentally to his commercial views. It was considered a star in his escutcheon, that he should have had the lot of conveying to her native land, on the coast of Malabar, Sterne's celebrated Eliza Draper. The command of the Essex had therefore devolved to her worthy and respectable chief officer, now Capt. Strover.

With the Admiral's permission we accordingly quitted the squadron, off Trincomalee, and proceeded to sea, some time in the middle of January, 1782 ; without having experienced any of those deleterious effects of the local climate, frequently the lot of those strangers whose occupations required their abiding on shore; particularly such as, in our case, had slept exposed to the nightly dews. For, all around enclosed, as it then was, to the waters' edge, with forests of the thickest growth, the inner

harbour of Trincomalee, however attractive and beautiful to the eye, at this time bore a character of being most baneful to European constitutions. By the removal of this inviting forest scenery, it has probably since been divested, in a great measure, of its malignant character; but I rather think I have heard it stated, that the place still retains in its bosom enough of *malaria* to make it, in certain seasons, sufficiently unfriendly to European health. Before I dismiss the subject of this otherwise delightful harbour, I should add that, prior to our departure, Mr. Boyd, a gentleman under the patronage of Lord Macartney, had proceeded on a mission from the British government, to the King of Kandy; at this period paramount in the interior of Ceylon. Of what nature his objects, or what his success, my information does not enable me to say. At a subsequent period Mr. Boyd became editor of the Madras Courier; and was amongst those once reputed as authors of the Letters of Junius.

We rounded the celebrated and magnificent Island of Ceylon to the westward. And having crossed the generally boisterous gulph of Manaar without accident, arrived at Tillecherry, our oldest settlement on the coast of Malabar, about a fortnight after the siege had been raised by the Bombay troops under Maj. Abington. At the very moment we were coming to anchor in the roads, we heard a tremendous explosion from the southward; which a day or two afterwards, we found to have been occasioned by the destruction of the principal powder magazine at Calicut; and which was immediately followed by the surrender of the town.

On landing at the fortified residency or factory, at Tillecherry, we were all of us liberally and hospitably entertained, during the whole of our stay, by Mr. Freeman, the chief, or principal civil servant, so entitled. With him we found Mr. Crommeline,

a former governor of Bombay; but now a sojourner, in a private and humble capacity.

During our stay, we visited several times, with peculiar interest, those widely extended lines, about a mile in radiation from the old fort of Tillecherry; which for nearly three years had sustained the siege, and baffled the efforts, of a very superior force of Hyder Ally's troops; under a respectable commander of the name of Serdaur (or perhaps Sudder) Khaun. It is to be regretted that a defence so honourable to the character of the Bombay army, should never yet, that I am aware of, have had its historian. One eminently qualified for the task, as well by his abilities as by the distinguished share which fell to his lot in the defence, has long since been consigned to the grave. I allude to the late Lieut.-Gen. Sir Henry Oakes (long Adj.-Gen. of the Bombay army) whom I am inclined to designate as the Barry Close of the Bombay establishment. His intrepid repulse of the enemy in a desperate attack of the earthen redoubt at Cuddouly, on the extreme left of the lines, and overlooking the ferrying place to Cannanore, were of itself sufficient to seal his character as a devoted and gallant soldier. I am, I think, also warranted in stating that Sir Barry Close himself, commenced his career of glory in the lines of Tillecherry, as Adjutant of either Kelly's or Muirhead's batt. which assisted in the defence.

As the seige had been raised not many days prior to our arrival, the enemy's approaches were precisely in the state in which they had been compelled to leave them, in their precipitate flight; and we had ample opportunity of forming some judgment, not only on the zeal and gallantry of the resistance, but on the industry, labour, and perseverance, with which the attack was carried on. It was, indeed, astonishing to observe with what indefatigable ardour they must have worked, to have perforated the pudding

stone soil, so as to bring the sap under ground to the height of a man—to the very foundations of the principal post, at Moylan, on the right, and under the ditch of the line of defence.

The breach in Moylan, the principal post resting on the sea, to the southward, had been long practicable; and attempts had been repeatedly made by the enemy to carry it by assault; in which they were nobly repulsed by the brave little garrison. In one of these my valued and gallant friend, Hugh Ross, of whom hereafter, received that wound in his elbow, which rendered his right arm ever after almost useless to him.

When, indeed, it is considered that the line of defence extended circularly, from Moylan, on the extreme right, to the post at the brass Pagoda; and thence along the river side to the sea, under the redoubt at Cuddouly, on the extreme left; a distance of not less than seven or eight miles; along the whole of which it was necessary to be prepared against attack, we cannot fail to form a pretty fair estimate of the anxious vigilance which must have been exerted, to watch over so momentous a charge. And the bravery and steadiness of that comparatively handful of soldiers, most of them sepoys, which so successfully withstood attacks, so many, and diversified, can surely never be too highly applauded. Yet, it is not more strange than true, that, among the mottos inscribed on the banners of the Bombay army, not one has been adopted in commemoration of the achievments which signalized the gallant, and long protracted defence of the lines of Tillecherry.

The whole of the force which at last undertook, and nobly succeeded, in the final discomfiture of the besiegers, was composed, as far as I can recollect, of the following troops; and it is not without a feeling of genuine satisfaction that I here endeavour to place them upon record.

A detachment of artillery, under Lieuts. Hawkes

and Tredenick—two companies of Europeans under Capt. Brownrig—the old second batt. under Capt. Carpenter—the old eighth (Jameson's) under Lieut. Taylor—and the old eleventh batt. under Capt. Lendrum. And as he performed a distinguished part during the siege, it is probable that Capt. Dacer, of the Engineers, accompanied the sortie. The whole comprising an aggregate of about one hundred and twenty European soldiers, and perhaps two thousand sepoys, at the utmost; under the command of Maj. Abington; with Lieut. afterwards Col. Henry Woodington, as Major of Brigade. The remaining batt. the old tenth, I think it was, under Capt. Lampard, being left, either in the whole or in part, for the protection of the lines and town.

The troops appear to have issued from the lines, some distance to the left of Moylan, between it and the brass Pagoda, sometime before daylight; and the enemy, taken by surprise, appear to have made but little resistance; and being driven across the rice grounds under Bench-hill, did not attempt to make any stand until they reached Koorailty house: a fortified mansion, the head quarters of the Commander, situated on an eminence projecting into the sea, about a mile to the southward of Moylan. Here, under their chief in command, they resisted for some time with considerable resolution; but their Commander receiving a musket shot in the small of the leg, and throwing himself on the mercy of the assailants, they ceased from all resistance—and the post was given up to pillage; furnishing indeed the only booty that fell into the hands of the victors. In the attack of this post, Lieut. Woodington received a wound in the leg, from which he suffered long afterwards. The enemy did not recover from their consternation—and the pursuit did not cease, until put a stop to by the river at Mohey, or Mahe, at the distance of seven or eight miles.

If there be at this time any survivor of those gallant

men who shared in this brilliant enterprise, I can only apologise to him for the above very brief and imperfect sketch, by stating that it is the only one which, upon tolerable authority, my recollection enables me to supply. At all events, if I should be the humble means of rescuing from oblivion some of the respected names associated with such achievements, it will be to me the source of unalloyed satisfaction. Among those names I cannot, without injustice to merit of the highest order, omit to include that of the brave and devoted Lieut. Thomas Weldon, who on this, and other occasions, led the grenadiers of Carpenter's battalion. Weldon's actions were already become so familiarly known to the enemy, that they called him the *butcha Serdaur*—the boy Captain. At a subsequent period, he fell into the power of the tyrant Tippo, by an unfortunate shipwreck; and, by his barbarous policy, was consigned to a premature death. In short, I can truly assert, that at an age so early and immature, I have never known one who furnished a more perfect example of the *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*, than Lieut. Weldon.

I have little else to notice, among the occurrences which took place during our stay at Tillecherry, that can materially deserve relation. We visited Serdar Khaun, the wounded captive chief; whom we found to be a respectable middle aged man, of rather a handsome exterior. He seemed to bear the suffering occasioned by his wound, as well as by mental affliction, with becoming fortitude. But obstinately refusing to submit to amputation, he died in the course of a few days. Lieut. Woodington also suffered severely from the effects of his wound; but survived to witness brighter times.

Having however continued at Tillecherry, for objects, with the nature of which I cannot pretend to be acquainted; and for a period quite long enough to have worn out a less liberal hospitality than that of Mr. Freeman; we at last set sail for Bombay. It

must have been then late in the month of February, when the north-westerly winds begin to blow with considerable freshness for a great part of the day. We had taken on board several inferior officers, prisoners of Hyder Ally's troops; and a French gunner of the name of Manuel, who had served with the enemy against Tillecherry.

For some reason or other we held our course a good way off to sea; in consequence of which we in a great measure, lost the advantage of the land winds, which usually prevailed in the forenoon. Probably, however, this course may have been pursued in order to lessen the chance of being annoyed by the piratical cruizers known to infest the coast between the Vingorla rocks and Bombay. Our precautions in this respect proved, however, unavailing.

When we had proceeded on our voyage for some time, I think it must have been at least three weeks after our departure from Tillecherry, we were not a little excited, one fine morning, by discovering to windward of us, several strange sail; some of which we soon made out to be square rigged vessels. They were coming down upon us under a press of canvas. Preparatory to some annoyance of this kind, we had, some time before, mounted two of the main-deck guns on a platform, to bear out of the stern windows of the great cabin; and we therefore considered that we were safe from boarding in that quarter. But as it was now soon ascertained that the vessels bearing down upon us were hostile, and either the fleet from Gheriah, or a division of Angriah's pirate cruizers from Coolabah, we repaired to our posts; the Bengal officers and myself, musket in hand, to the poop, and the men to their guns.

The French prisoner Manuel, of whom I have just spoken, having particularly requested that he might be permitted to work our stern-chace guns, his request was readily complied with. The enemy were now ranging under our stern, within gun-shot

distance; and our Frenchman opened his guns upon one of the nearest vessels; the shot dropping just under the enemy's bows. They immediately returned the fire; and their shot passing through our mizen top sail, Capt. Strover thought it proper to bring our conflict to an issue. The Essex bore up accordingly; and we gave them at once our whole broad-side of nine-pounders. Some of the shot must have told; for the whole of the pirates immediately wore round, and suffered us, without further molestation, to proceed on our voyage. We were never able to ascertain to which of the piratical communities they belonged; but as far as I can charge my memory, they consisted of two or three square rigged grabs, or prowed vessels, and several armed pattemars, full of men; all of which in a calm might have occasioned us a great deal of trouble. As matters stood, however, our ship having sufficient wind to manœuvre with, we got rid of our impertinent visitors, without either difficulty or damage.

A very tedious interval now succeeded, during which nothing remarkable seems to have occurred until the twentieth of April. On that day about four in the morning, it began to blow very fresh; and it became necessary to take in sail and to lower top-gallant masts and yards. The gale gradually increased in violence; and about eight o'clock, when every stitch of canvas had been taken in, it was become a tremendous hurricane. Considering it of the utmost importance to ease the straining of the ship, Capt. Strover gave orders to cut away the fore top-mast. James Carr, the boatswain, an intrepid young seaman, who had earned his experience in one of the King's ships, and two quarter-masters, altogether three of the best and bravest sailors on board, nobly and without a moment's hesitation, sprung up the fore shrouds and proceeded with their axes to cut away. They had just succeeded in cutting away her shrouds, when, awful to behold, the fore top-mast

suddenly fell; and with it swept the three gallant seamen into the boiling surges beneath; in which they disappeared in an instant without the possibility of rescue.

Not many minutes passed in the contemplation of these horrors, when the lower mast itself went over the side: and the people had scarcely succeeded in clearing the wreck, a work itself of some danger, when, with a terrific crash, the main mast broke off, about twelve feet above the deck, and also fell over the side. At this moment I was coming upon deck; and such a scene of terrific sublimity met my eye, as I never witnessed before or since; the sea was raging with inconceivable fury all around; presenting a surface of boiling foam; while the spray, which flew over us like a snow storm, prevented us from seeing any thing at the distance of only a few yards. At the same time the main mast, which had not yet been disengaged from the chain plates, seemed about to be thrown, by the wild heaving of the storm, upon the ship's decks. Neither were we without some serious misgivings, that the violence with which the mast was every now and then driven against the ship's side, might start a plank; in which case the scene would have soon closed for ever. From this alarm we were, however, relieved by the self-devotion of a Genoese sailor, of the name of Antonio; who suffered himself to be held by the legs out of one of the gun-deck ports, through which he fortunately contrived, at considerable risk of being crushed to death, to cut away so much of the cordage within his reach, as was at last sufficient to set the mast adrift.

As the ship, with the exception of the mizen mast, was now a complete wreck, and the ablest navigator on board knew not whither we were driving, she was consigned to the fury of the storm—in the agitation of which she seemed to be reduced almost to the size of a cockle shell; so lightly did she appear to

be tossed form one raging wave to another. In these circumstances the assistance of every one was demanded to work at the pumps; and we all repaired to the gun-deck for that purpose. Yet at this moment every hope of safety had been abandoned: the mildest fate that awaited us, being, as we thought, to be cast away on a rock-begirt, and hostile shore. Capt. Strover himself, an experienced sailor, and a man of no ordinary firmness of mind, could not help ejaculating before us all, "what will become of my poor wife!" The Lascars, or native Indian sailors, were appealing to the omnipotence of God. As in the battle cry, it was "Allah! hu akbar." "God is greatest."—And I believe we were all of us endeavouring to dispel the sense of danger, by exhausting our strength at the pump handles. At such a crisis, Davies, the Captain's Steward, brought us a foaming bowl of punch, in which we pledged each other in melancholy silence.

It must have been at this time, about noon, when our almost extinguished hopes were revived, on perceiving that although still raging with ungovernable fury, the violence of the hurricane would occasionally abate; and that there existed nothing alarming in the state of the leak. Before twelve o'clock at night the storm had almost exhausted its fury; and by day-light of the twenty-first, it had entirely subsided; leaving a smooth sea, a smiling breeze, and a beautiful tropical morning.

While we were busily engaged in rigging a jury fore-mast, our attention was suddenly attracted by the appearance of a strange sail steering the same course with ourselves: and as the first impression that smote us was, that she might prove an enemy, we proceeded with desponding spirits, to clear the guns for an unequal conflict; aware that the case was hopeless, between a dismantled ship, and one of which the equipage seemed to have been wholly uninjured from the effects of the gale. Our doubts

were, however, changed into gladness, when, hailing her on her approach, she proved to be the Shah Behramgour, a country ship, belonging to Bombay, commanded by Capt. Morgan. Having exchanged salutations, Capt. Strover expressed a wish, in our very dilapidated situation, to be taken in tow. But to this the commander of the Behramgour at first demurred, under the plea that it would be too great a strain upon his own ship. Capt. Strover seriously expostulated; declaring that he should report his conduct to the Bombay government. He at last complied; and our tow rope was accordingly taken on board. Towards evening, the light-house on Coolabah point (Bombay) and shortly afterwards the dark and pinnacled screen of mountains to the eastward of Bombay, came in sight: and before the night was far advanced, we were, under God's gracious providence, safe at anchor, in the noble and spacious harbour;—precisely four hundred and two days from the period of our departure from Portsmouth.

CHAPTER IV.

It would then appear, that on the 22nd of April, 1782, in company with my Bengal friends, I first ascended the steps of that projecting part of the extensive fortifications of Bombay, near the dock-yard, called the Pier head. Any one who had recently taken leave of the slim and fragile figures on the beach at Madras, would scarcely fail to perceive the striking contrast presented by the robust and athletic forms of the Parsee, Marwary, and Bandary, population of the town and island of Bombay. Of the sea line of works, there are few but will acknowledge that the aspect is truly formidable; and well, and honourably defended, might bid defiance to any attack that could be brought to bear upon it: particularly when provided with furnaces for hot shot.

We were glad to escape from the amalgama of savoury smells, arising from the vast variety of rancid, oily commodities, heaped together in our way to the Bundur; the then residence of the junior civil servants; and to find ourselves at last securely housed in the Bombay hotel; at this period kept by Mr. Macfarlane. At such a moment I had but loosely calculated the wide disproportion between my cadet's pay, and the double full batta, drawn by my companions of the Bengal establishment. The former, amounting to no more than thirty rupees a month, and the latter, to more than four hundred. It had, however, occurred to me not to remain more than two days, at furthest, in such luxurious and expensive lodgings; and for this I had been provided by the considerate and disinterested liberality of Capt. Strover, the kind-hearted and respectable Commander of the Essex; who, when we parted in the

morning, had pressed into my hand, what was exactly equivalent to the month's pay of a cadet.

The dinner hour soon arrived; and as we seated ourselves at table, the weather at that period of the year being the reverse of cool, we had thrown off our coats, and laid them on the backs of our chairs. The bottle was gaily circulated, and I partook, without reflection, of the liquid ruby, at twelve and sixpence the bottle; claret selling, at the time, at sixty rupees the dozen. When we were about to retire for the night, we resumed our upper garments; and as I had deposited the whole contents of my exchequer in my coat pocket, it occurred to me to examine whether all was safe. To my utter consternation, I found "all my treasure gone"—the spoiler not having left me a single rupee. Our vile attendants of the hotel had taken advantage of our thoughtless hilarity; and thus barbarously robbed me of all I had in the world.

It was time that I should present myself before the town-major. And now it was that I had full experience of the disadvantage and risk of being without the certificate of my appointment. Fortunately, I had carefully preserved the letter announcing such appointment, through the intercession of Lord Weymouth; and this I placed in the hands of Capt. Williams, the town-major; at the same time explaining to him, the imprudent folly of the counterfeit name. With a considerate indulgence, which I was not quite prepared to expect, Capt. Williams, who happened to be a native of Chester, and therefore cousin-german to a Welshman, desired me not to make myself uneasy, as he was perfectly convinced of the truth of my statement; that he would communicate the letter to Mr. Hornby, the governor, and that he had little doubt of a satisfactory arrangement. A few days afterwards I was in orders to do duty with the European regiment, then at the Presidency, as an acting Ensign.

With the same promptitude and considerate kindness, the town-major allotted me quarters in the

King's barracks; and I was most agreeably surprised to find myself lodged in the same rooms with my Madras friend—the brave and guileless Andrew Foster, who had recently arrived by the Coventry frigate; and with whom I now gladly accepted the offer of messing.

My acquaintance with my Bengal friends was by no means discontinued, and from Lieut. O'Donnel in particular, I ever afterwards experienced an attention quite fraternal. One instance of this, however trifling at the present period it may appear, I shall not hesitate to mention. Having been authorized to bring with him at all times, any young person whom he might like to introduce, Mr. O'Donnel proposed to me on one occasion, to dine at Mr. Draper's, the second member of council; and I, with, perhaps, some little demur, thought it convenient to comply. But, as my cadet's frock had by this time become rather tarnished in the service, he insisted on arraying me in one of his best scarlets —and in these borrowed feathers I appeared with some advantage at the table of the second in council. Mr. Draper, a very mild and good humoured man, was the husband, so barbarously forsaken by Eliza Draper, in her elopement from Mazagon house, with Sir John Clark, of the navy. I never heard what was the ultimate fate of this indiscreet and unfortunate lady; but she was not the last, by many, of the daughters of the sun, who, within my recollection, have fallen victims to the arts of the unpitying seducer.

During my abode in the barracks, which was from the latter end of April, to the conclusion of the year 1782, I commenced my acquaintance with those, with whom I was destined to associate for so many years in after life. With Messrs. William Morris, Charles Lonsdale, Robert Gordon, Matthew Brattan, John Williams Morris, (now a Maj.-Gen.) Gilkenet, Coane, Adam Howden, &c. &c. — all of whom

(with the above one exception) are now no more. In the mean time, my attention was directed, with some degree of zeal, to acquire the ordinary professional knowledge connected with drill, guard-mounting, &c. The Captain of the European company to which my friend Foster and myself were attached, was Goodwin; who both understood, and spoke, Hindostany, better than most natives that I ever heard. At this distance of time, I cannot exactly say, but I am disposed to think, that this circumstance may have had considerable influence in directing my subsequent pursuits. At all events I employed a Mounshy, or language master; and this study has ever since continued to be to me, the main stay and consolation of life.

I must not omit to notice, that by one of the ships of the season, the annual list of cadets was brought out; and I had the mortification to discover, instead of my own name, the fictitious one which I had imprudently assumed, inserted about the forty-seventh in rotation. Fortunately, I had stated the circumstances of my case, without the smallest reserve, to the town-major—and the necessary change of name was made through his interference, without any of those inconvenient results, which such an act of imprudence on my part, was otherwise calculated to produce.

During the rains, which set in this year at the usual period, I had the imprudence one very sultry night, to sleep in a draught, exposed to the land-wind through an open window; the consequence of which was a most painful attack on my right hip, in the nature of *sciatica*, from which I did not recover for some weeks. While I suffered under the effects of this attack, I had the happiness to experience from my associates, the kindest attention; and from none more essentially than from Lieut. John James, our Adjutant; who proffered me his assistance also in a pecuniary sense, at a time when it was most wanted.

—Than Lieut. James, there could not have existed a more brave and honourable man.

The beautiful months, at the close of the rainy season, now arrived, and I lost my valuable messmate Foster, who was ordered to join Seward's batt. the old 7th. Our garrison duties were neither severe nor troublesome. Indeed the duty at the Bazar gate, that which opens to the northward of the town, was always to me the source of great amusement; for it was the great outlet to the very handsome female population. In other respects, our parade equipments were left a good deal to our own taste and discretion;—we were, indeed, at this period, none of us very particular as to uniformity of dress—the town-major himself usually attended guard-mounting, in shoes and silk stockings; very different to the hog-in-armour system of the present day. I do not speak in disapprobation of the latter, but to mark the contrast.

On the twenty-first of November, 1782, I was commissioned as an Ensign.

Prior to the period of which I am speaking, perhaps a few weeks, Brigadier-Gen. Matthews had arrived, to assume the appointment of superior in command of the Bombay army. And to signalize his arrival by something novel, proceeded on the plan, as it is said, of Marshal Saxe's legion, to consolidate the ten companies of our native battallions, into five cumbrous companies of one hundred and fifty rank and file; with each a Lieutenant and Ensign; the commissioned officers of a battallion being before, a Captain and ten Lieutenants.

If the change was actuated by the paltry saving between the pay of five Ensigns, and that of five Lieutenants, it was scarcely worth the effort of calculation; but to me, and to numbers like myself, it was attended with serious injury; for it confined us to the rank of Ensign for seven tedious years; and to that of Lieutenant, eight years more: we having

been at last, after a service of fifteen years, promoted by brevet, to the rank of Captain. In other respects, if I am not much mistaken, the keeping an officer so long in a subordinate situation, must operate to the disadvantage of any service; since early responsibility must be generally allowed to produce that self-confidence so necessary to an officer in the discharge of his public duties; and to secure the exercise of those talents and resources, which may otherwise lay for ever dormant. Many an instance, indeed, might be cited, in which, by long inaction, and our habitual reliance on the judgement of others, abilities of the highest order have become so far extinguished, as to be beyond the chance of revival.

It had been for some time in agitation, in order to relieve the Carnatic from the misery occasioned by the barbarous ravages of Hyder Ally's armies, to make a powerful diversion on the coast of Malabar. And about the end of November, or beginning of December, 1782, arrangements were in considerable forwardness for despatching to the southward, under command of Gen. Matthews, all the troops, both European and native, that could be spared from the Presidency of Bombay. It was understood at the time, that Gen. Goddard had declined the command; unless a military chest and armament were placed at his disposal, to an extent with which the government of Bombay signified their inability to comply.

Under these arrangements, Ensigns Morris and Lonsdale, and myself, were directed in general orders to join the old second batt. of sepoys, then serving in Malabar—and we made all the preparations within the compass of our slender means, to enable us to join our corps. Capt. Carpenter, the commandant of the batt. happened at the moment to be on leave of absence at the Presidency, and by him, on our introduction, we were kindly received. One morning (a short week only, prior to our finale departure) a letter was put into my hand, containing a draft in

my favour, from Arthur Cuthbert, the Admiral's secretary, on Mr. Miguel de Lima é Souza, a respectable Portuguese merchant of Bombay, for one thousand and thirty rupees: being my share of prize money arising from the capture of Trincomalee.

It would be difficult to describe the relief of mind which I experienced on receiving this most seasonable and unexpected supply; for it enabled me not only to furnish myself with every requisite equipment for the field, but to liquidate the debts which I had unavoidably incurred, since my arrival without a shilling: and even to lend some trifling assistance to my brother officers, who had not been thrown so much into fortune's way. Neither have I yet forgotten the surprise and astonishment of my friend, Matthew Brattan, when he saw the glittering metal spread all over my bed, while I was engaged in reckoning the amount—nor his exclamation, "By J——s, but you must have been after robbing a church!" Be that as it may, it is impossible that any human being could have experienced more substantial happiness than I did for the moment. There was only one other occasion on which I experienced anything that bore resemblance to it;—and that was on the 6th May, 1799, when we had counted a million and a half of gold in the Palace of Srirungputtun.* The effect of the former, although not so decisive on my destiny as the latter, lasted, however, far beyond the moment; since it preserved me ever afterwards from the trammels of debt.

On the eve of embarkation on a service of such perilous importance, I shall endeavour to bring to mind the nature and amount of that force which was thus about to be employed. There must have been a considerable detachment of artillery, although I have no recollection of the number, under the command

* Major, then Captain, Price, was prize agent, for the Bombay army.—ED.

of Capts. Toriano and Jackson, with, I think, Lieuts. Jacob Thompson and West; a corps of European infantry, of about four hundred strong, under Col. Jackson; the basis of two grenadier batts. under Capts. Lampard and Dunn; and the first batt. of sepoys, under Capt. Edward Nugent. To these must be added sundry details, destined to join the several native batts. already on the coast. There were, moreover, proceeding to the same destination from Surat and Broach, the third, fifth, and fifteenth batts. under Capts. Richardson, Eames, and Maccullock; which would add to the force already mentioned, probably two thousand rank and file; with some very valuable and experienced officers; and altogether making a total of about three thousand eight hundred rank and file, of every description. The merit of Lieut. Oakes was already so highly appreciated, that he had allotted to him the command of a separate and independent corps. But with the exception of Lieut. now Gen. Blachford, I have not been able to bring to my recollection the names of any other officers of engineers, who accompanied the expedition.

Of the precise date of our departure from Bombay on this occasion, I have preserved no memorandum; but as far as I am now able to judge, it must have been early in the month of December, 1782—just fifty-two years ago, calculating to the year 1834. There was not among the whole of us, I sincerely believe, a single individual who did not entertain the brightest hopes of success; and our short voyage of three or four days, for it required no more to bring us to the scene of action, passed in cheerful and unalloyed enjoyment. Ensigns Morris, Lonsdale, and myself, with the detail for the second batt. were embarked on board of a Surat battela, a quarter-deck vessel, peculiar to the north west of India; which may accommodate from an hundred to one hundred and fifty men.

On our arrival at a short distance to the northward of the river Merjee, a small sandy bight or cove was pointed out to us, as the spot on which we were likely to land. This would have brought us immediately on the rear of Tudry, where there was on the stocks, what was called a fifty-gun ship. It was, at all events, a vessel of considerable burden, at a subsequent period, burnt by my friend Ross. We had however, scarcely time to deliberate, when we were hailed to make for the beach, south of the river, just under the straggling fort of Rajamundroog. We accordingly made for the shore, and ran the battela aground. For some minutes we were rather unpleasantly exposed to the guns of the fort—and several shot passed over us. A party of our troops was approaching at the same time from the land side, to attack the gateway, which looked to the east: and we hastened also in the direction of the gateway, from whence a pretty sharp firing of musketry was kept up on the party under Lieut. Stewart, the major of brigade. The gateway was flanked by two towers with guns; and we were close at hand, when we saw Mr. Stewart lifted up by the sepoys into one of the embrasures; on which the gateway was immediately thrown open to admit of our entrance.

The garrison, whatever they were composed of, had entirely disappeared, with the exception of one man, a Carnatic matchlock man; who suddenly arose from among the long grass, with a wisp of hay in his mouth, and threw himself at our feet. I cannot but remember this man, who was one of the tallest and stoutest natives I ever saw; and I often met him afterwards, as he became enrolled among our ordnance lascars. The fort contained about twenty iron guns of different calibres.

The troops were now disembarking in various directions, particularly from the river, which enters the sea immediately below the hill on which the fort is erected; and was of sufficient depth to admit the anchoring of the old Bombay Grab, a ship of twenty

guns. They were encamped across the ridge of the hill to the eastward of the fort, looking directly towards Merjee; which, in a declining sun, appeared rather formidable, with its double line of walls and towers, fausse-bray, and ditch. One of the grenadier batts. was detached under Capt. Lampard to occupy the post at Compta, a little hill fort on the beach, about five miles to the southward.

A few days afterwards we were joined by the troops from Malabar: consisting of the forty-second, and hundredth, King's regiments, under Cols. Mc'Leod, and Humberstone: the second, eighth, and eleventh batts. of sepoys; with a proportion of artillery, under Capt. Hislop, a very promising officer of that corps, in the King's service. He was killed not long afterwards in the attack of Hyder gauht, on the march to Bednour. Adding these to the troops already assembled, under Gen. Matthews, I may, I think, venture to state, that the whole amount of force employed on this occasion, in the invasion of Kanara, did not exceed, at the utmost, 5,800 men; of whom scarcely 1,200 were European soldiers.

In mentioning the junction of the Malabar division, I cannot omit referring to that memorable occurrence which rendered its presence so opportunely available, and at such a crisis. I mean the decisive repulse sustained by a superior force under Tippo Saheb, from the King's and Company's troops, before the weak and unfinished lines at Paniana. To these lines, imperfect as they were, our troops had retired, in their hasty and harrassing retreat, from the ill-advised excursion towards Palgautcherry. At an early hour on the morning of the 29th November, 1782, when the troops had scarcely had time to arrange themselves at their respective posts, the enemy flushed with what, from the circumstances of retreat, they considered the sure hope of success, came on with unprecedented boldness to the assault. The head of a dense and massive column, one of the four employed

in the attack, was in actual contact with the works; on which, as there had not been time to raise the parapets, the artillery at the guns were exposed to almost certain death. Lieut. Tredennick, of the Bombay artillery, was dangerously wounded, while directing the fire of his guns. The crisis was full of peril—and afforded to Maj. Campbel, of the forty-second, the opportunity of exhibiting that example of presence of mind, intrepidity, and skill, which would be alone sufficient to rescue his name from oblivion. Calling to the forty-second, he led them immediately across the rampart; and at their head, trusting alone to their bayonets, rushed impetuously on the flank of the column. This was a "shaking," for which the enemy were not at all prepared—and the effect was, a consternation from which they did not recover. The attack was not renewed: and on the 12th of December the enemy was in full retreat towards Coimbatore. For this, a double cause has been assigned: first, the shock occasioned by the unexpected and sanguinary repulse before the lines; and lastly, the information which soon afterwards reached Tippo Saheb of the death of his father; which occurred on the 7th of the month, only five days before. This latter event must have required his immediate presence in the Carnatic. However, his departure was soon ascertained; and the Malabar division was thus permitted without molestation, to embark for the northward.

The arrival of this powerful addition to our force, seems to have determined the General to employ a part of the troops in an immediate attack on Merjee, which looked so invitingly down the river, at the distance of about four or five miles. The division destined for this service, under Col. Mc'Leod, was accordingly embarked on the river; Lieut. Ross, with whom I became now for the first time acquainted, and myself, with a detachment from the second batt. being ordered on dutv with this force.

We had, however, scarcely entered our boats, when having, for some reason or other, abandoned this design for the present, the General countermanded his orders, and we re-landed.

It is, however, to be acknowledged, that in this change of plan, Gen. Matthews acted with the soundest discretion; since it is sufficiently obvious that by a waste of time, which might have been incurred in attacking a place of such minor importance, the paramount object of the expedition would have been exposed to the hazard of defeat. It is probable that he therefore determined to establish a more centrical, and more eligible basis for his operations, by the reduction of Onore.

Not many nights preceeding, a body of the enemy supposed to belong to the garrison of that place, had made their appearance in the cocoa-nut tope or grove, immediately under the fortified post, at Compta; which I have already mentioned to have been occupied by Capt. Lampard and his corps of grenadiers. With a caution which exposed him to ridicule, that officer, instead of attacking these undisciplined irregulars, chose to cram his whole batt. about four hundred strong, into a work where there was hardly standing room for the men. The enemy deriving courage from this unusual proof of deference, became, as was to be expected, more daring and insolent; although they immediately withdrew on the appearance of the reinforcement, which was hastening to the relief of the post.

Whether this circumstance might not have had some influence in drawing the attention of the General more immediately to that quarter, I cannot pretend to say. But the whole united force was shortly afterwards in full march for Onore; Capt. Carpenter's batt. the old second, to which I was attached, or the greater part of it, being left to protect the stores and other equipments, that remained at Rajamandroog.

With a degree of unsteadiness, or perhaps ingratitude, for which there can be no apology, towards Capt. Carpenter, through whose interposition only I had been attached to his corps, I now applied to join the grenadier batt. under Capt. Dunn; in place of Ens. Lancelot Reid, who was compelled through ill health to remain behind at Rajamandroog. In this application I very deservedly failed.—But I may be permitted to observe, that I was not at all aware at the time, of the implied disrespect of which I became thus guilty towards my kind and indulgent commandant. Although I have since felt myself to blame for the act, I can, with conscious truth aver, that my real and only motive was, a restless and unquiet zeal to be present where the scale of operations were highest.

While the siege of Onore was carrying on, we were passing our time at Rajamandroog in listless idleness; neither do I bear in remembrance a single incident worthy of relation; unless it is, that one day the dry grass having been accidentally set on fire, our utmost exertions were required to prevent the conflagration from communicating with a large quantity of ammunition, which lay uncovered in the area of the fort.

The important fortress of Onore, was taken by storm, after a siege of no great duration. Among the casualties most regretted was that of Brigade Maj. Stewart, formerly mentioned; who was killed on the occasion. He was universally respected for his acknowledged bravery and zeal. As a proof of the latter quality may be adduced, his becoming, with Mr. Farmer, an hostage for the performance of the treaty, under which the Bombay army was suffered to retreat from Tullagaum.*

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* A town about twenty miles from Poona—to which the force had advanced from Bombay, to place an aspiring Brahman-Ragoba —in the seat of government.—ED.

To our unfeigned satisfaction, our confinement at Rajamandroog was now to terminate. Our commandant having received orders, from head qnarters, to proceed with his batt. into the districts within land of Onore to the eastward; for the purpose of repelling any attempt that might be made by the enemy in that direction. We marched accordingly in the direction indicated to us; our corps becoming thus a moving column of observation; acting about sixteen or eighteen miles to the eastward of Onore, and in the direct road as we afterwards found to the Bilghy gauht.

I am disposed to think, that the corps with Capt. Carpenter at this period, after deducting the men detached, could not have mustered more than three hundred firelocks; one-half of which, however, were veteran grenadiers, inured to service. To these latter, under Lieuts. Hodges and Weldon, I was now attached. The officers present were—Capt. Carpenter, Lieuts. Hodges, Weldon, Fyfe and Lawrence, Ensigns Morris, Lonsdale, and myself. Lieut. Ross must have been left in command at Rajamandroog.

Be this as it may, Lieut. Weldon and myself, with part of the grenadiers, were one day on the advanced guard, in front of an obscure hamlet, called Moordnulla, no longer perhaps in existence; and as we held the commissariat in our own hands, the sepoys were engaged in thrashing rice from the straw, which lay stacked about the villages; being at the time the only source from which we derived our subsistence. There was in front, a rice ground, about a hundred and fifty or two hundred yards over; skirted on the other side by a pretty thick wood of forest trees; and we had on our left, a shallow and transparent river, running over a bed of rock and gravel; and, I am inclined to think, the same river that runs by the fort of Merjee to Rajamandroog.

We had a small advanced party in the outskirts of the wood in our front; and it might have been about

one or two in the afternoon, when some musket shot from the wood rendered it necessary that our sepoys should relinquish their employment of threshing, and betake themselves to their arms. In the meantime, I was sent forward by Lieut. Weldon, to bring off our party from the wood. While I was calling in the sentries, several shot were fired at us; and the sepoy orderly who attended me, received a dangerous wound between the thighs, which lamed him for life. I was observing the movements of the few matchlock men that made their appearance squatting among the trees, when a shot struck one of the trees by which I was standing; and a splinter grazed the corner of my eye; without, however, any great injury. I thought it, nevertheless, rather a narrow escape—and I now withdrew the party, and regained the advanced guard, which stood to their arms coolly, awaiting the attack. As the enemy gave no further indication of their presence, they must have immediately retired. And this was probably nothing more than what, in magniloquent terms, might be called a *reconnoisance*, to discover our force and position.

With that decision which marked his character, Capt. Carpenter, at the head of the main body of our diminutive force, immediately advanced to our support; and as if to demonstrate our readiness to accept the challenge, we all together entered the wood in our front: and having pushed through to the opposite side and some distance beyond, without discovering any vestige of the enemy, we took up our ground for the day.

At our evening parade of the same day, Lieuts. Hodges and Weldon received orders to march with both companies of grenadiers, immediately after night-fall, for the purpose of attacking the enemy—now known to have taken post in some strength, in the Bilghy gauht (or ghat—or pass of the mountains) at the distance of about twelve or fourteen miles.

Immediately after dusk, accordingly, we set off; and having continued our march during the greater part of the night, about three in the morning, or at all events some time before day-break, we began to ascend the pass—not without considerable difficulty, in preserving the connection of our files in the darkness, and through the ruggedness of the road.

At last, without meeting with any other obstacle, we came to a gateway defended by a tower, with guns on each flank; which we immediately assailed. Lieut. Weldon being lifted up by myself into one of the embrasures, while I pushed myself round the flank and came upon the rear;—the enemy making off with great precipitation. Seizing a Frenchman, who had been posted here to manage the guns, I held him up in my arms to remove the gate fastenings, which were otherwise above our reach; and the gate being thus thrown open, the sepoys entered without difficulty. We now hastened forwards; and at a short distance further up the pass, came upon a second gateway, fortified in the same manner with the first. This was also immediately attacked and carried, after a very slight resistance.

On this occasion, having warded off the push of a spear from under the eaves, which had nearly taken my eye, I ascended the tiled roof of the gateway; and the ground rising abruptly in the rear, I jumped down, as it happened, without injury.

Day was now breaking, and we continued to advance to a considerable distance, perhaps more than a mile, beyond the summit of the pass; until we came to the enemy's bazaar, which we found abundantly furnished with every thing we could desire for the supply of our brave and faithful sepoys. All this was accomplished, as far as I am able to recollect, without a single casualty; which, considering how strongly fortified and armed these gateways were found to be, could not have been the case, unless the enemy had been completely panic stricken.

In the course of the two following days, Capt. Carpenter joined with the remainder of the detachment; and we had by this time learnt, that the town of Bilghy, the capital of the district, lay at the distance of about twelve or fourteen miles to the eastward of the pass, of which we had so fortunately obtained possession. On the night of the third, or at latest of the fourth day, after such possession, the whole detachment was on the march to attack the town. We encountered neither obstacle nor interruption until a little before day-light; when a small guard at a sort of barrier gate at the entrance of the place, discharged their matchlocks at us; but immediately making off, left us an unmolested passage.

When day-light came, the town being completely evacuated by the inhabitants, we took possession of the palace of the Rajah; a spacious mansion at the eastern extremity of the long street, of which the town of Bilghy is principally composed; and we found it stored to profusion, with the richest stuffs, shawls, sauries, and other splendid articles of dress; which, at a proper market, might have been disposed of at considerable value. We afterwards learned, to our regret, that all this was the property of the Rajah, said to be favourably disposed towards the British government. Of all, however, we had, without ceremony, taken possession; making on the spot a fair and equitable distribution of the property. There were, however, other articles of considerable value, which we could not so conveniently dispose of; in particular, an extensive assortment of brass and copper ware of every variety, to the value of thirty or forty thousand rupees, which we were constrained to leave untouched.

It may be needless to observe that our operations required despatch, as the enemy must have been in superior force close at hand; and there was full in our view to the eastward, at the distance of not more than eight or nine miles, a respectable looking hill

fort, to which our information assigned the name of Goopty. Indeed we must reasonably have expected, considering the paucity of our numbers, that our retreat to the gauht would not be accomplished without molestation.

Having therefore passed the day and the ensuing night, in, and about, the palace of Bilghy, we were assembled about four in the morning round a blazing fire, in the square of the palace; when a jassous or courier, entered, and delivered a note into Capt. Carpenter's hand. The note was from Gen. Matthews himself; announcing the triumphant intelligence, that he was in possession of the ancient and opulent metropolis of Bednour.

CHAPTER V.

THE enthusiasm with which this most welcome intelligence was hailed, may be easily conceived—nor shall I ever forget the joy, amounting almost to extacy, with which the sepoys passed to each other the triumphant word "Nuggar lear—Nuggar is fallen."* This gratifying information must then have been received by us about the 31st January, 1783; as Gen. Matthews is known, from his own letters, to have entered Bednour, at the invitation of Ayauz Saheb (usually called Hyat Saheb) on the 29th of that month. The General's note conveyed at the same time an order, that our small force should proceed immediately to the northward, for the reduction of the enemy's forts and districts, north of the river of Merjee. The resolution to withdraw from our present position, which had been taken prior to this information, was thus confirmed or enforced, by the instructions of our Commander-in-Chief.

I have perfect recollection of the singular cleanness exhibited in every part of the very pleasing little town of Bilghy. The small verandah, in front of every house, was the very pattern of neatness and purity; and I do not bear in mind the image of any place that, in this respect, I can venture to compare with Bilghy as it then stood; unless it be the neat and well ordered weaving town of Gohkauk, below the fall of the river Gutpoorba. It was, however, a

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* Forts and towns, with names ending in nuggar, or puttun, meaning fort, or town, are usually, in their own neighbourhood, called by such termination only. The mahommedan, and common name, of Bednore, was Hyder nuggar: so named, probably by Hyder Ally.—ED.

complete solitude: for, during the day and night which we remained there, we did not see a single living being, ourselves excepted, in the shape of an inhabitant.

We must have quitted Bilghy on this occasion soon after day-light on the 31st of January; and as we left it in our rear, the cheering "Harra—Harra—Mahadeu"*—of our gallant little corps, was a challenge which remained unanswered. During the former night's march, the beauty of the scenery through which we passed, had of course been entirely lost to us—but the delight with which we traversed in day-light, the lonely dells, verdant woodlands, and refreshing forest glades, incidental, as I subsequently experienced, to the vicinity of the western gauhts almost from end to end, was such, that I have always considered this as the most pleasing day's march I have ever known. It is, however, probable enough, that the exhilarating circumstances under which we were proceeding, must have had considerable influence in giving to every object its brightest coloring, and most pleasing exterior. One production congenial to this beautiful district is the sandal tree, of which we would have rejoiced to carry with us many a block.

When we had reached the head of the gauht (or mountain, or pass) on our return, it was thought expedient to send back Lieut. Lawrence, with a detachment of thirty men to resume the possession of Bilghy; whence, however, on his arrival, he found that the rich assortment of brass and copper ware had vanished—"without leaving a wreck behind."

He was shortly afterwards recalled to join the corps; which now descended the gauht, and proceeded to the northward, in concurrence with the General's instructions.

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* Names of a Hindoo deity—with which sepoys under excitement, cheer each other.—ED.

The fort of Ancola or Ancowla, before which we shortly appeared, was one of those posts, which if resolutely defended, was not to be reduced without the aid of artillery. It was in complete repair; consisting of a wall and towers of solid masonry, covered all round with tiled roofs; which rendered it very difficult to escalade; and this was considered our only resource, as we had not with us even a single field piece. Our commander had sent in a message to the Killadaur (or commandant) to demand his surrender of the place; and we officers were, all of us without suspicion of harm, standing near the abutment of a peepul—or banyan-tree, at the head of the bazaar to the eastward, and in full view of the works, to which we were entirely exposed; when a discharge of cannon sent the shot right amongst us, providentially without the slightest injury to any one. We were however glad to get under cover, as another salvo might have proved not quite so harmless or ineffectual.

To obtain possession of this very compact and well constructed fort, I am not aware that our able and resolute commander had any other resources than what he possessed in his own mind; for as I have already intimated we were totally unprovided with artillery. Neither had we ladders or intrenching equipments of any description. The night, however, came; and our small force was distributed in different directions round the fort, to watch the movements of the garrison:—Ens. Lonsdale and myself in a hollow near the tower in the north-east angle; Lieut. Ross who had recently joined us, was stationed in front of the gate looking to the bay to the south-west. Before day-light the next morning, Lieut. Ross discovered that the enemy had abandoned the place. Considering this an opportunity not to be neglected, he hastened to take possession of the gate, lest the garrison might by some cause or other be induced to return. Of this we were not aware until the morning;

when the conduct of Lieut. Ross was considered so subversive of military discipline, that as a caution to others, he was immediately put under arrest. His services were, however, acknowledged to be too valuable to continue long unemployed; and he was released again shortly afterwards. On this occasion a suspicion was conceived, most unjustly I think, that he was actuated in the promptitude with which he seized the gate, and thus secured the fort, by an eagerness for plunder; of which, or of any other sordid motive, my gallant friend could have had a sure acquittal from all who ever knew him.

The place was found to be well supplied with guns, and powder and shot: and in other respects, the walls and towers being roofed and in perfect repair, it afforded excellent accommodation for a garrison of many hundred men. The usual massive grouping of towers in front and flank of the gate-way, contained very airy and convenient quarters for the commandant; and I think after all, that Lieut. Ross was left in charge of it. In my then limited view of affairs, Ancola appeared a very eligible station; although rather too distant from the water-side of the bay of the same name.

Whether such an establishment continues to this day my information does not enable me to say; but there existed then upon the coast, a little to the southward, between Ancola bay and Rajamundroog, the paphian village of Gocurn; at that period, and long before, celebrated as the abode of the finest and most accomplished, dancers, in the country round.

What was the duration of our stay at Ancola, I cannot at this distance of time exactly recollect; but it could not have exceeded three or four days; our main object being still in advance; namely the fortress of Sadashugurr, at the mouth of the river of Carwar; and at the distance of about eighteen miles to the north-west of us. To this there were two

roads, either of which was open to our selection; the one, more direct leading over Hyder gauht, a pass on the woody hill-range, extending from the eastward to the point, over against the Portuguese island of Anjedevy; and the other more circuitous, over that point. The latter was that to which we gave the preference.

Our force, owing to detachments unavoidably left at Ancola and other places in our rear, could not now have amounted to more than two hundred and fifty men, under eight officers.

The direction of our march, both before and after passing the Terring, a small rock post projecting into the sea, two or three miles from the Nulla, near Ancola, was immediately to the left, or westward;—traversing rice grounds of great extent, until we came to the point near Anjedevy. We ascended the ridge near the extremity of the point; and from thence the fortress of Sadashugurr came full in view, across the extensive plain which intervened on that side, for the space of five or six miles. The exterior of the place in that direction, presented a formidable display of defences, both above and below, level with the river on the northern banks; while Coorrumgurr, a fortified island, lay just opposite the mouth of the river, within cannon shot. It appeared, indeed, an object quite worthy the ambitious yearnings of the most aspiring among us.

We descended the pass, and proceeded across the wide plain to the northward; directing our march obliquely to the north-east, towards the imperial, or Austrian factory, about two miles above the fort on the opposite, or south side of the river. The greater part of the way, the march of our little column must have been observed by the enemy; and our force pretty accurately estimated. At all events, they must have discovered that we were unprovided with artillery. In the evening we halted at the factory; which was a substantial square-built mansion, with

the Austrian eagle displayed from the terrace, and inhabited at the time, by one or two of the agents of the imperial, or Ostend company, as it was sometimes denominated,—with whom we afterwards held frequent friendly communication.

Having secured the ferry-boats and two or three small river craft, we crossed the river that same night, and landed without discovery, among some mangroves, above the fort. And immediately after day-light, pushing round to a grove of trees to the northward of the place, we took up our ground under shade of those trees; for we had not a single tent among the whole of us: and within something more than cannon-shot distance from the works. About a couple of hundred yards from the head of the bazar, at the foot of the hill on which the fort is erected, there extended to the left or eastward, a low rocky ridge; affording sufficient cover to a small party, which was accordingly sent forward in the course of the day, to take post behind it. From the western extremity of this ridge, and flanking the rice fields in the rear of it, there extended a grove of cocoa-nut trees, most part of the way to the tope, wherein we had fixed our head-quarters: so that our communication with the advanced post was under good cover.

As was to be expected, the enemy opened a heavy fire of cannon on our advanced party; which was continued during the day, without effecting any injury. And here, as a caution to the inexperienced, I shall not hesitate to mention an act of thoughtless folly, which might, thus early, have brought my humble course to a termination. I was visiting this post, out of idle curiosity; when, observing a cannon-shot trundling through the loosened rocks, I put my foot out, wisely intending to stop it; when, fortunately, although I little deserved it, our Adjutant, Lieut. afterwards Col. Fyfe, who was standing by, drew me suddenly aside, or I should, even then have been, at least, minus a leg; for a twelve-pound

shot in motion, is rather a dangerous play-thing.

In the mean time, we were busily employed in making the necessary preparations for attacking the fort by escalade; and the requisite arrangements available under our very limited resources, referring indeed to nothing more than our ladders and bayonets, having been completed, our small force intended for the operation, was thus disposed:—

The two grenadier companies, under Lieuts. Hodges and Weldon, and a batt. company under Lieut. Lawrence, composed the actual storming party; to whom were added, Serj.-Maj. Cahill, and Serj. Hill. The party carried a couple of scaling ladders. Ens. Morris, and myself, had each a separate detachment, to support the storming party, and to act according to circumstances. The residue, which could not have been over numerous, was in reserve, under our commandant.

I think it must have been some time after midnight, when the assailing party moved on to the attack; which was intended to be made on the long curtain where it adjoins to the right hand, or eastern tower of the gateway. Without meeting with the slightest resistance on the way up, they pushed straight forward to the high, but short, wall, which connects the two towers; the great gate being on the left flank of the right hand tower. The ladders were immediately planted against this wall; but, unfortunately, just before two port-holes, or embrasures, with guns charged to the muzzle with langridge, as well as round shot. The garrison were completely on the alert; and Lieuts. Hodges and Weldon being at the head of the file which ascended one of the ladders, the guns exploded and struck down the whole of the three officers, Lieut. Lawrence being one of the number; together with Serj. Hill, and many of the sepoys who were also on the ascent. Lieut. Hodges was killed on the spot; a part of his skull being carried away: but Lieuts. Weldon and Lawrence escaped

with the temporary loss of sight; their faces being only scorched by the explosion. Serj. Hill was in the same situation; and all having been thrown down the ladders, they were groping about in utter blindness, for some part by which to withdraw; for in their present state of preparation, any further attempt against the enemy's works would have been attended with a useless sacrifice of human life. In these circumstances, Serj.-Maj. Cahill, a tried and very gallant soldier, took charge of the party, and conducted them down the hill without molestation from the garrison; who were, doubtless, contented with having so successfully repulsed the attack.

During this discouraging crisis, the smaller divisions, under Ens. Morris, and myself, were moving in different directions, round the base of the hill. In the course of which movements, coming close upon a plantation of sugar cane, my division received most unexpectedly, from the midst of the plantation, a heavy volley of musketry; providentially, without effect—the shot passing over our heads. At the moment, I had not a conception that it came from the enemy; and the drummer, by my order, struck up the grenadiers' march; being persuaded that the volley came by mistake from my poor friend Morris's division. But as the party, whoever it might have been, retired without making any signal in reply, and my friend subsequently denied all knowledge of the circumstance, I could not avoid the conclusion, that it might have been the enemy: nevertheless, I cannot say that my doubts on the subject were ever satisfactorily cleared up.

The storming party having been thus repulsed, with a loss abundantly severe in men and officers, the whole of our slender force re-assembled under our steady-minded commandant; still unappalled, although deeply sorrowing, for the loss of our gallant and intrepid friend; and for the injuries which must for some time deprive us of the services of two of the

most experienced of our brother officers. It was then our opinion, confirmed by subsequent inspections, that had the attack been made as originally intended, on the curtain flank of the right hand tower, as respects the gate, it would most probably have succeeded; although the enemy were so well prepared. Since one or more of the officers might have escaped, and made his way good to the rampart, and continued the attack. But, as it happened, there was not one left in a condition to head the party. It was supposed, that having so recently carried the Bilghy gauht, by pushing direct at the gateways, Lieuts. Hodges and Weldon conceived, that, by following the same plan, they would have been equally successful at Sadashugurr.

In the course of the day, Capt. Carpenter sent into the fort, to request that the body of our gallant associate, Lieut. Hodges, might be delivered up to us: accompanied with a message to the Killadaur, Luximan Naik, that, near as we had been to him the night before, we intended the next time to be much closer neighbours. The body of poor Hodges was given up without demur; no otherwise disfigured than by the fearful fracture on his head. His watch and purse had been appropriated; but his remains had not been otherwise treated with disrespect. He was buried somewhere in the tope, about a mile from the fort, which had been chosen for our head-quarters.

To the memory of this brave and lamented soldier, it is but just that I should devote a few passing observations. He was, I believe, a Shropshire man by birth, and could have scarcely attained to the age of four-and-twenty. He was therefore in full vigour and activity. He had already acquired a reputed fortune of ten thousand pounds. He was a favourite officer on the staff, in the family of Governor Hornby; and revelling in all the luxury to be found at the seat of government. He was possessed in a high degree

of the advantage of a handsome person. In short, there was scarcely a destination in public, or an enjoyment in private, life, to which he might not reasonably have aspired. Yet, to share in the excitements of the field of battle, he cheerfully sacrificed all; and was ever the first in danger, and the last to complain. Comparing him with his gallant associate, my friend Weldon, I would say, that with equal courage, that of Lieut. Hodges was the more impetuous; while that of his generous rival, whose subsequent fate was still more to be lamented, was the more deliberate and sedate. But the loss of an officer of such distinguished promise as Lieut. Hodges, could not be easily repaired.

The attempt to carry the place by storm, although it thus terminated in a disastrous failure, produced, nevertheless, in the Killadaur and his garrison, a sensation from which they never recovered. On the night following, I happened to be on duty with an advanced party, near the entrance of the bazar already referred to, at the foot of the hill; and I had not been many hours at my post, when a report was brought me that the enemy had evacuated the fort. Without reflecting for a moment on the admonition administered in the case of the exemplary Lieut. Ross, I despatched, it is true, advice to my commandant of the circumstance; but, without waiting for orders, I pushed immediately forward, entered the gate without resistance, and proceeding into the upper fort, there remained with my party under arms until day-light. Shortly afterwards, a message was conveyed through one of the serjeants, that I was to consider myself under arrest, for wilful disobedience of orders. And it is rather singular, that from that day to this, I have never been expressly released from that arrest.

We found more than thirty pieces of cannon of various calibres, mounted on the works—which, although in an incomplete state, might have made a *more* protracted defence.

The enemy effected their retreat in perfect silence along the beach, in the direction of Sewiser—probably Seu-iswara—a small, but compact little fort, to the northward, at the distance of about three or four miles, on the road to the Portuguese boundary.

The interval of a day's repose succeeded, before anything further was undertaken against the enemy. But on the second day it was determined to proceed in pursuit of the garrison, before they should have reached a place of security, or disposed of the treasure which they were suspected to have purloined from us; for in the hall of audience, in the upper fort, and in the middle of the earthen floor, we found, recently opened, a circular excavation of some depth, and four or five feet in diameter; from which we had little doubt that they had carried off either treasure, or something of equal value.

Leaving a detachment in charge of Sadashugurr, we marched with our remaining force, in the direction of Sewiser; and leaving that fort, which had also been evacuated, on the left—we continued our march, through alternate topes and rice grounds, until we came to the edge of an open plain, about two hundred yards across on the opposite side—on which we beheld a pretty numerous body of the enemy, grouped on the outskirts of a large wood, which covered the hill in their rear. As my commandant's displeasure towards me was more affected than real, I was ordered with my subdivision across the plain, to attack the enemy to our left; while the other subdivisions dashed forwards upon the centre, and right. We had scarcely led out from the tope on our side, when there appeared, drawn up in the rear of the enemy, a detachment of Europeans in blue; who by various gestures and exclamations, endeavoured to warn us off. In the heedless eagerness of pursuit, this was little attended to: and this small corps of Europeans was absolutely walked over by our parties; while the enemy totally disappeared

into the forest in the rear, before we could reach a man of them.

After some fruitless pursuit, we returned; and made every apology for our unintentional violation of the Portuguese territory; which was, however, not indicated by any visible demonstration. It was, indeed, rather to be suspected, that their guard of Portuguese troops, had made an unauthorized advance from the river, on the opposite, or north side of the hill range, which confines the territory of that nation to the southward of Cape Ramus.

The matter was, however, made the subject of a grave remonstrance from the government of Goa, to that of Bombay. And we afterwards learned that the Portuguese had received a pressing invitation from the Killadaur, to take possession of Sadashugurr; and we actually observed their ships in the offing, the very day after the place had fallen into our hands.

Having taken possession of the spolia; which, on this occasion, consisted of nothing more than a palankeen or two, a few silk punkah umbrellas, and two or three horses, of little value, we returned the same day, and by the same road, to Sadashugurr.

I cannot omit here to remark, that, although thus continually exposed to the contingencies of battle, we had no medical aid whatever, nearer than Onore, at the distance of more than thirty miles; and we had no alternative but that of conveying our wounded men and officers to that place, by sea; our vicinity to which was therefore fortunate. In the meantime, to supply in some measure, our loss of officers, Lieut. Young, who had not yet been called to Bednour, now joined us from Merjee.

I have already stated that the fortified island of Coorumgurr, lay opposite the mouth of Sadashugurr river, within gun-shot; and in order to secure unmolested access to our cruizers, it became necessary, by some means or other, to obtain possession of that

island. From his acknowledged proficiency in the language, and conciliatory manners, Lieut. Young was selected to be the bearer of a message to the Killadaur; representing to him the inutility of his holding out, when all within land of him had submitted to the English government: and, after some rather vexatious importunity on my part, I was permitted to accompany Mr. Young on his diplomatic mission. The Killadaur was a respectable veteran Patan, of the name of Moussem (or probably Mohussen) Beg.

Having taken boat accordingly, we crossed the bar of the river; and with a flag of truce, approached the landing place on the inshore side of the island. We were permitted to land without demur; and conducted up the rock to the residence of the Killadaur, whom we found to be a robust veteran; well fed, very hospitable, and very civil. We were, I think, some tedious hours before any reference was made to the immediate object of our visit; and it was not until we had partaken of a very plentiful and well cooked repast; the basis of which was the flesh of a very beautiful spotted deer, which we had observed alive and merry in the morning, that we found heart enough to propose to our hospitable entertainer, the hard condition of delivering up his island: on full security, however, of person and property. To this mortifying proposal the veteran Killadaur did not affect to offer any serious objection: and, without enlarging further on the subject, he finally agreed to surrender his charge, on the following day. This was about four in the afternoon, to which our negociation was protracted.

He was now told that if our proposals were acceded to on his part, we had been instructed to fire a gun, in token of his consent to give up the place. With this also he quietly complied: and we were accordingly conducted to a bastion to the left of the durbaur, where we had been regaling on our venison repast;

and one of the heaviest guns, an eighteen-pounder, was placed at our disposal. The piece happened to be shotted; nor by any effort of the men, could the shot be drawn; but as we were very anxious to make the concerted signal, the gun was fired at all hazards; and the shot re-bounding along the beach between Sadashugurr and the sea, our friends considered it no otherwise than the signal of hostility. They therefore gave us up for lost; nor could they be otherwise persuaded until they saw us late in the evening safe landed from our boat.

Next day, according to stipulation, the island with all its stores, was punctually given up; and we again met the poor Killadaur, and his brother Sheikhjee. What ultimately became of them I know not; but if they placed themselves at the mercy of their tyrant master, their fate may be easily conceived.

A short interval of inaction now took place; during which we were joined by Lieut. Tredennick, of the artillery, now recovered from a dangerous wound in the abdomen, which he had received in defending the lines at Paniana.

Good old Lonsdale, for old we called him, although under thirty, had been placed in command of the compact and neat little fort of Sewiser; and as idleness is the mother of mischief, nothing would satisfy us, one afternoon, but we must storm his quarters. Accordingly we set off five or six of us, headed by our sober-sided commandant; and having without suspicion of harm, been kindly conducted by our friend to his lodgings in one of the towers, we at first demeaned ourselves, with sufficient decorum. But some of us becoming at last rather clamorous for wine, our friend, perceiving that we had already been pretty well charged, pretended that he could not find his cork-screw. As, in the elevated pitch of hilarity, to which we had now risen, this seemed to us an evasion, we broke through all restraint; and proceeded to ransack our poor friend's

camp baskets; out of which, without much ceremony, we soon abstracted all we wanted: and to shew our utter disregard for all form, having subjected the bottles to decollation, we thus discharged the insidious liquor down our throats, until we could drink no longer. I am sorry to add to this record of wild extravagance, that having drenched our brains to the disturbance of all sense of propriety, we entirely forgot, or discarded, the wholesome restraints of discipline and subordination: and proceeded to exercise some juvenile familiarities upon our kind and indulgent commandant. In consequence of this, Lieut. Fyfe, our little Adjutant, who appears to have taken the lead in these uproarious follies, was ordered to consider himself in arrest: and in this state, after having either emptied down our throats, or wasted, the greater part of our quiet friend's stock of Lisbon, we endeavoured to find our way back again to Sadashugurr; in returning towards which, I was thrown by my horse into the rivulet which crossed the road between that place and Sewiser; with no other harm, however, than a very seasonable ducking.

If, the next morning, in tracing the circumstances of our visit, the remorse and shame with which we looked each other in the face, were any atonement for this ebullition of folly and extravagance, I think we did not escape entirely without punishment: but all grievances were buried in oblivion, and our Adjutant, although he seemed at first disposed to be a little riotous, finally consented to be released from his arrest.

Not many days after this foolish adventure, it was determined to extend the sphere of our operations into the districts within land of us; and particularly into the province of Sounda, above the gauhts. Banwassy, was the chief town; of which we had received some very favourable reports. And I was detached with about forty fire-locks, to a small village, sixteen miles up the river of Carwar, on the

road to the Souppa gauht, leading into Sounda. Here I remained for some time, with sufficient leisure for reflection; having no one to communicate with but my native officer, and the Potail of the village. The latter person I found to be an intelligent Brahmin; so much more so than I expected, that I experienced some degree of surprise when he announced to me, that in the course of a few days, we should have an eclipse of the moon. Although the eclipse did occur exactly as the Brahmin had predicted, I gave him at the time but little credit for his information; suspecting that he derived it from a Portuguese almanac, published at Goa, at the distance of not more than forty or fifty miles. But had I been then aware of the astronomical pursuits cultivated at Banaras, I should have been better disposed to do him justice, in the assertion that he derived his knowledge from the literature of his caste.

My mode of living, I may add, was as simple as frugal, and inexpensive. An old bearer in my service, whom I employed on the occasion, would bring me twelve full-grown fowls for a rupee, which is less than half-a-crown: and eggs, milk, butter, ghee, rice, sweet potatoes, and yam, I was freely supplied with by the villagers in the neighbourhood; as well as with my dessert of guavas and plantains. Indeed I was becoming quite reconciled to this serene and tranquil life; when expectation was again awakened by some stirring movements, at no great distance to the northward.

Having made himself master of the necessary information with regard to circumstances of strength and position, our able and experienced commandant, had now made up his resolution to attack the fort of Souppa, situated eight or ten miles to the northward of the gauht of that name; my post being about three or four miles from the foot of the same gauht. This service was allotted to Lieuts. Fyfe and Ross, with perhaps one hundred firelocks; and it was

successfully executed with very little loss, although they found the place perfectly prepared for resistance.

The tiled roof with which, as in any other places, the walls and towers were covered, rendered this resistance, however, for some time rather serious. For when the party had escaladed to the ridge, the height within to the area of the fort, was found to be so great, that it was impossible for an accoutred sepoy to drop down without danger to his limbs; and one of the ladders which had been transferred to that side, being forced away by the enemy, the party was exposed to a galling fire for nearly half an hour; and the officers were beginning to despair, when the native officer, who had been detached to make a diversion on the opposite side, having silently entered by an embrasure, struck up the grenadier's march, and effectually relieved them from their perilous situation. Thrown into consternation by the sudden and unexpected alarm, the garrison immediately abandoned their defences, and left the place clear to the assailants.

Very shortly afterwards, Lieut. Weldon, who had recovered from the injuries sustained in the attack upon Sadashugurr, and now rejoined his corps, was sent to take command of Souppa. Here he had not continued many days, when information was conveyed to him that at the distance of about ten or twelve miles, at Hurrihaul, a village and pagoda at the eastern extremity of the province, a detachment of the enemy, consisting of horse and foot, had taken post in considerable force. He immediately determined to try whether they were not to be taken by surprise. Leaving Souppa early one night, this enterprising and gallant young soldier, proceeded at the head of his party, accompanied by Lieut. Lawrence, to carry his design into execution. After a troublesome night-march, by unfrequented roads, he succeeded to the utmost of his wishes; for coming upon the enemy some time before day-light, while

they were fast asleep, he completely surprised and dispersed them, with scarcely any resistance; their camp equipage, and a number of horses, at least five-and-twenty, falling into the hands of the party.

At this period I must have been called to head-quarters: for, although my recollection on the subject is at this moment very imperfect as to circumstances, I well remember that I was present at Sadashugurr, when Weldon's captured cavalry arrived, and furnished each of us with his charger. My allotment was a grey raw-boned Mahratta mare, which I choose for her size and strength; and which by her perverse and vicious temper, occasioned me many a catastrophe.

I was now, to my great delight, directed to join Lieut. Weldon, at Hurrihaul: and I consider it remarkable that at a period when the storm was thickening round us—for as early as the 22nd March (1783) intelligence had reached Onore, that a large force under Kerim Saheb, was then approaching Bednour—I should have been suffered, with no other escort than a single sepoy orderly, to traverse the whole of the country, between Sadashugurr and Hurrihaul; a distance of not less than thirty or forty miles, without the slightest molestation. The approach to the foot of the Souppa gauht, was then, for three or four miles, with the exception of here and there a glade or opening, through a thick cover of forest and under-wood: and the country above, all the way to Hurrihaul, appeared to me like what is described of half-cleared tracts in America; the withered vegetation among the woods, having been set fire to, as usual prior to the rains, for the purpose of destroying noxious reptiles; giving to the landscape a very scorched and arid appearance.

I found Lieut. Weldon and his victorious little detachment, for it could hardly have amounted to more than one hundred men, posted in front, and in the area of the pagoda. From this a short walk led us through a noble avenue of trees, to the summit of a

steep descent; thence we enjoyed a most extensive view of the wide and varied plains below, to the distance of thirty or forty miles eastward; through the districts of Ranibednour; and north-east towards Shanore and the river Toombudra.

We must have remained at Hurrihaul, at least to the middle of April; when indications of that disastrous reverse, which were gradually pervading the country below, became general in every quarter: for the post under Lieut. afterwards Col. Riddle, at the head of the Hydernugger gauht, had been stormed and carried by Tippoo's troops, on the ninth of that month. And on the eleventh, the garrison left for the defence of Cundapour, under Lieut. Muirson of H. M. hundredth regiment, abandoned that place without resistance.

This sudden and unfavourable change in the aspect of affairs, rendered it immediately necessary that Capt. Carpenter should concentrate his force; and it was under these circumstances that Lieut. Weldon received his orders to withdraw from Hurrihaul, and conduct the detachment to the district below the Souppa gauht. On our march downwards, I was directed to join a party under Ens. Lonsdale, stationed on the river a little above the village formerly occupied by myself. Here we remained for some time in undisturbed repose; without either seeing or even hearing of any thing in the shape of an enemy. And it must have been late in the month of May, when we received orders from our Commander, to retire altogether to Sadashugurr. On this occasion, while Ens. Lonsdale proceeded with the party by land, I embarked on the river in a canoe; and in a very few hours reached our head quarters.

On my arrival at Sadashugurr, I found the Commandant and his subordinates, in the durbaur of the upper fort, at dinner; and among the party, to my surprise, Mrs. Carpenter, recently arrived to join her husband. I received orders to proceed at an early hour the following day with a detachment, to the

support of Lieut. Ross, who had been directed to blow up, or otherwise dismantle, the works of Ancola. The rainy season had by this time seriously set in, for next morning I almost waded through a deluge of rain, on my way towards Ancola; the rice grounds being inundated knee deep, and the party being obliged to proceed in single file along the ridges, for a great part of our march. By the time I reached the village, on the beach about two miles to the north-westward of the Terring, exactly on the spot, where the enemy under Gungaram encamped, at a subsequent period, I was joined by the detachment, from Ancola, under Lieut. Ross, who had effectually succeeded in blowing up the principal towers of that place.

Prior to this, my respected friend had been employed on an excursion to destroy the ship, before spoken of, on the stocks, and nearly finished, at Tudry, on the north side of the river of Merjee, and opposite to Rajamundroog. And in this, with his usual activity and zeal, he had been equally successful; having set fire to, and burnt the vessel to the water's edge. It would appear that about the same time, Ens. Bunbury, of whom hereafter, under the orders of Capt. Torriano, who commanded at Onore, had either destroyed or dismantled the fine old fortress of Merjee; but having been cut off from his communication with Onore, which was already invested by the enemy, he repaired to join us at Sadashugurr.

Having sheltered ourselves during the night, which was one of continued and heavy rain, in the cajan* covered huts of the village, we marched in the morning on our retreat to Sadashugurr; where we arrived without molestation or accident, the same evening.

I do not retain a recollection of the exact period at which the discouraging event was announced to

* Leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

us; but it was subsequently known that Gen. Matthews, with the garrison at Bednour, had surrendered by capitulation to Tippoo Sultan, on the 3rd May. But whenever it did become known to us, I do not remember that it produced any alarming apprehensions upon our detachment. The succeeding five months of the rainy season passed without the occurrence of any event within the district around us, that could be worth the narration. It was a period of inaction; during which we endeavoured to amuse ourselves, as far as we were able with our limited resources. We fenced, and played at cards, and Lieuts. Weldon, Ross, and myself, occasionally made up a mock concert with our flutes. Once we had a horse race, in which my perverse Mahratta charger, although in a fair way of winning, notwithstanding all my exertions to the contrary most provokingly bolted off the course; to my equal mortification and dismay. I was not more fortunate at cards; for by the end of the rains, I was minus one thousand rupees: and to this circumstance is probably to be ascribed my subsequent aversion to gaming of every description.

On one of the last days of the month of July, Ens. Bunbury, with nine European soldiers and about twenty sepoys, comprising, probably, the garrison which had been left for the defence of Merjee, was dispatched in a patamar boat for Onore; which place, after a perilous passage, over the bar, at the mouth of the river, he reached in safety, on the 1st of August, 1783.

Of this unfortunate young man, it is impossible to speak without a feeling of distress, if not of compassion: for after the cessation of hostilities at Onore, he covered himself with indelible disgrace, by going over to the enemy in open day-light; being seen to pass over the embankment of the trenches deliberately, followed by the servant, who, as usual, carried his chair. What motive it was that impelled him to this act of deliberate and desperate profligacy, was never distinctly understood. Some said that he considered

himself unhandsomely and illiberally treated by the authorities of Onore; while, by others, the disgraceful step was ascribed to an attachment which he had conceived for a dancing girl at Sadashugurr; for whom he thus risked his all. The desertion is thus noticed in Maj. Torriano's narrative of the siege of Onore.

"To fill up the measure of their misfortunes"—alluding to the garrison—"they had lost all hope of conveying intelligence, by the desertion of an officer of the garrison, Ens. Bunbury; who, to stamp his character with indelible infamy, publicly read their letters at the durbaur, and furnished the enemy with every information, over which his recent situation in the army gave him power."

This remark seems to have been made a few days subsequent to the 5th of February, 1784.

The desertion of a British officer, and that to the bitterest and most implacable enemy of his country, was an event so singular and unprecedented in occurrence, that I have not been able to pass it by without observation. By those who knew him best, this unhappy young man was considered an active, spirited, and intelligent officer, but very defective in education; a defect which has marred the fair prospects of many worthier and better men. He had been made a cadet by Governor Hornby; which I do not mention in disparagement; but if he had possessed a single spark of the principles of a gentleman, he would never have dared to fix the stigma of desertion in the annals of that army of which he proved so unworthy a member. I believe he was never heard of afterwards; unless it was as one among those renegado Europeans, who served with the army of Tippoo, in his campaign against the Mahratta States, north of the Toombudra.

I had almost forgotten to notice, that prior to the setting in of the rains, the neat little fort of Sewiser had been undermined and blown up: not, however, without serious accident to one or two artillery-men

who had joined us, under Lieut. Tredennick; and who were frightfully scorched on the occasion.

Of the general cessation of hostilities, we could not have heard, until the latter days of August. Although this event took place at Mangalore, on the second of that month, the information did not reach Onore until the 25th.

Capt. Carpenter had, however, been indefatigable in his exertions to put Sadashugurr into the best state of defence; although there was but little probability that we could have held out long against a determined attack by a superior force, with artillery. He had converted the tile-covered post on the little hill in the swamp, about four hundred yards to the eastward of the fort, into a respectable redoubt—to which he gave the name of Fort William; and on which he mounted several guns, to fire en barbette. On the opposite bank of the river, over against our lower line of defences, he had, under the superintendence of Lieut. Tucker, of the Bombay Marine, constructed a stockade out-work, of the stems of cocoa-nut trees; among which, in order to clear the ground in front of the fort, we had made deplorable havoc; the cabbage-tops of these trees furnishing a very palatable substitute for the vegetable of that name. Our excellent Commandant was, at the same time employing all his resources, to augment our numerical strength; so that by the conclusion of the rains, we had, by enlisting men from the adjoining districts, and particularly from Malwan, added at least four hundred firelocks to our original force.

As the gallant, but unfortunate Gen. Matthews, did not survive to account for his conduct, it would be difficult to determine, whether he was more to be pitied, than blamed; but it was generally considered that to have risked the destruction of so essential a part of his force, by locking them up in Bednour, with such an inefficient line of communication as he had endeavoured to establish with the coast at

Cundapour, was the fatal error of the campaign.' It is, however, at this time, and under such a stupendous change of circumstances, useless to speculate on what, under fairer auspices, might have occurred. Nevertheless it is not unreasonable to conceive, that if he had withdrawn in time, and as soon as he became apprised of the magnitude of that force which was pressing towards him on every side, he might have reached Cundapour, with his troops—a body of upwards of two thousand tried and disciplined soldiers; for it is well known, that the garrison of Bednour, on its inauspicious surrender, consisted of six hundred Europeans, and sixteen hundred sepoys, of the very best description.

With these, reinforced by the different detachments which would have been taken up on the march, there exists scarcely a doubt, that with one flank resting on the sea, and the probable support of many a cruiser, he might have continued his retreat to Mangalore with every prospect of success; and when we recollect the noble and protracted defence made by the garrison of that place, under the command of the gallant Maj. Campbell, against the main bodies of Tippoo's armies, assisted by French troops; what might not have been expected from such a garrison, when reinforced by such a body of veteran soldiers as would have been brought to join them, under Gen. Matthews?

The suspicion which once extensively prevailed, that this unfortunate commander had designedly shut himself up in Bednour, with the object, by a timely capitulation, of securing to himself the greater part of the treasure found in the place, involves too grave a charge to have been justly brought forward against an officer of Gen. Matthews' character and reputation —even on much stronger grounds than any I have ever heard alledged. The account of the captured treasure was at the time, enormously exaggerated; but the imprudent and unwarrantable manner in which, at the last extremity, it was distributed; and

that after it had been determined to capitulate, furnished too plausible an apology for that breach of capitulation, of which the Sultan became immediately guilty; to the infinite detriment of the service, in the detention, and final assassination, of some of its best and most distinguished officers.

Of the contingencies of that inauspicious siege, which terminated a campaign of such exquisite promise, many interesting particulars might doubtless be related, that have never yet been brought under the notice of the public; among others, there is one which I derive from the information of a gallant friend, who was present on the spot; and survived his captivity to arrive at the rank of Lieut.-Col. that I cannot avoid introducing in this place.

The enemy had been in possession of the body of the town for some days; and the corps of Frenchmen, serving as auxiliaries with the Sultan, had taken up their quarters in one of the principal streets; as far as I can recollect it was the Dehly-street; and it was considered advisable, that an attempt should be made, either to dislodge, or cut them off. For this purpose, accordingly, one day early in the siege, a sortie issued from the fort, headed by part of the European garrison, under the direction of Maj. Fewtrill, of the Bombay European regiment. The French division was completely taken by surprise; and would probably never have succeeded in getting to their arms, had not one of their officers adroitly stepped forward and requested a parley; as if directly preparatory to a surrender. Most unhappily, this was complied with by Maj. Fewtrill, whose courage was never called in question, but whose intellectual powers were rather on a moderate scale.

While the wily Frenchman held in conversation the Serj.-Major of the Bombay regiment, a remarkably fine young soldier, of the name of Paterson, the French division were hastily employed in getting under arms; and their insidious countryman, no

sooner perceived that they were recovered from their surprise and in readiness to act, than he suddenly passed his sword through the body of poor Paterson; who fell mortally wounded, and became the first victim of this unsoldierly and indiscreet delay. The consequence was, that the troops of the sortie were beaten back with loss, and compelled to return to the fort in some confusion.

What influence the destruction of this French corps might finally have had on the destiny of the garrison, it is useless now to discuss; but that it might have made the town an irksome and precarious tenure for the besiegers, and have materially protracted the siege, there can, I think, exist but little doubt.

Many occurrences of a nature equally interesting, full worthy of being rescued from oblivion, must also have taken place during this inauspicious siege; and there is one of which I cannot forbear the relation; as exhibiting a fair example of the almost romantic gallantry, which at this period seems to have occasionally animated our officers of every class, here, as well as on the opposite side of the Peninsula of India.

When Gen. Matthews became at last convinced that the armies of the Sultan were closing round him on every side, he considered it expedient without further delay, to order into Bednour, the several detachments doing duty at the out stations; and among others, that which formed the garrison of Anantpour, commanded by Lieut. Cæsar Sutton, of the Bombay establishment. The enemy were at this juncture, close in the vicinity of Anantpour, which may be at the distance of from twenty to thirty miles south of Bednour. A retreat for such a distance before an active enemy of superior force, could not be considered otherwise than an operation of equal difficulty and danger. Having set his party in motion, Lieut. Sutton took post in the rear, mounted on a powerful and spirited horse, which in this perilous retreat seems to have well seconded the efforts of its

rider. Thus mounted, and being the last man of his party, he became the object of repeated attack from the enemy; which, with equal gallantry and activity, he as repeatedly baffled; the enemy being very probably held in awe by his commanding stature, and fearless exertions. Having thus, by the most hazardous personal exposure, continued to cover the retreat of his party, he finally succeeded in conducting them in safety to the gates of Bednour. I think I am warranted in asserting that there were at that moment many such men in that devoted garrison; and if human prowess alone could avail against overwhelming superior force, Bednour might even then have continued under British authority.

Cæsar Sutton was, however, one of those, who survived captivity; and returned at the period of general deliverance, with many of his brother captives to Bombay; but being an irreclaimable gambler, and otherwise of expensive habits, he soon became irrecoverably embarrassed. I regret to confess, that I was one of those who sometimes partook of his extravagant and luxurious repasts on the esplanade of Bombay. Like many others who have followed a similar course of reckless extravagance, with the same propensities to gaming, poor Sutton finally died by his own hand. This happened at Tannah, on the Island of Salsette; and in a manner so deliberate, that he called to his friend Lieut. Spens, in the next room, to bid him a last farewell. The explosion of his pistol instantly followed. Had he borne up against his distresses for but one more short week, relief would probably have been effectual; as, in about that period, Gen. Medows arrived to assume the Government of Bombay; to whom he had been most powerfully recommended by his friends in Ireland.*

* Gen. Medows had assumed the Government of Bombay, prior to the suicide of the accomplished Cæsar Sutton. It is believed that the "recommendations" above spoken of, arrived just after that lamentable event.—ED.

I once saw Cæsar Sutton at a fancy ball, at Surat, in the character of Achilles. His splendid armour, and commanding form and figure, were the admiration of all; for he was, as I have already intimated, a very tall, and a very handsome and accomplished man, and in age under thirty. I cannot here forbear remarking, that three of the tallest and stoutest men I have ever known—namely, Col. Jacob Thompson, of the Bombay artillery, Capt. James Baird, and Lieut. Cæsar Sutton, of the infantry of the same army, were also among the bravest.

I could never understand why no part of the Sultan's numerous armies should have been employed to recover the northern districts of his dominions, so many months in our unmolested possession; considering that against an efficient force with artillery, Sadashugurr was not capable of any protracted defence. We had, however, a double, though very weak, line in front; so that being beaten out of the exterior, we might still have continued our resistance in the upper or interior part; which is cut off from the lower, by a slight and ordinary cross wall, tiled over, but without flanks. As a last resource, we might also calculate on the practicability of withdrawing to Coorumgurr, at the mouth of the river; but after the place should have been effectually invested, that would have been an operation of considerable difficulty and hazard.

Whether reports were circulating, or information received, that the enemy at last indicated some design of troubling our repose, I cannot at this distance of time undertake to say; but late in the month of October (1783) a part of our force crossed the river to the southward; and formed a small cantonment, near the Pagoda on the beach; at the distance of about four miles from the fort, and a mile to the north of the point which projects towards Anjadeva.

A short time prior to this an order was received, requiring Lieut. Weldon to proceed immediately down

the coast, to join Gen. M'Leod; it being at the same time intimated to him, that he was intended for the command of an independent corps, in consideration of his distinguished merit. Some very importunate, and I am afraid teasing applications, were then made, both by Lieut. Ross and myself, that we might be permitted to accompany an officer whose courage and talents we so highly respected. As we ought to have foreseen, those applications met, as they deserved, a peremptory refusal; and we had, at a period not long subsequent, ample reason to be grateful for this, then much regretted, failure. Our brave and lamented friend sailed shortly afterwards in a batella boat for Malabar; exulting in the brightest hopes of fame and distinction; and we never saw him more.

We had not long continued on the ground which I have described, when on the 5th of November 1783, a tremendous gale of wind came on; and our huts being very soon swept away by the fury of the gale, we were compelled to crowd for shelter into the small pagoda in our rear. Unhappily the gale was not confined to the spot on which we stood. It extended far and wide; and reached in its destructive effects, the Superb, a line-of-battle ship belonging to the squadron under Sir Edward Hughes. But, what came more nearly home to our individual feelings, this was the gale in which our distinguished friend, the brave and lamented Weldon was cast away, near Cannanore; and being pusillanimously delivered up by the beeby, or petty queen, to the satellites of Tippoo, he was immediately hurried up the gauhts to Bednour. At that place, as we understood at a subsequent period, he was one day taken to an adjoining jungle, and there most foully murdered, by command of the vindictive and sanguinary tyrant; to whom, as the "Butcha Serdaur," or "boy Captain," his character was doubtless too well known. This furnished a further proof, if any were wanting, of that detestable policy by which the tyrant was actuated,

to root from our service by deliberate assassination, its best and most distinguished officers, as they happened to fall into his hands.

And here, while I endeavour to render this last tribute to the memory of this most promising and truly gallant young soldier—young, indeed, in years, but veteran in experience—for he had scarcely yet attained to the age of twenty-two—I cannot but reflect with gratitude, on the goodness of that Providence, which, when my thoughtless importunities least deserved it, most graciously interposed, through the authority of our Commandant, to prevent my sharing in his premature and unmerited fate; which would most assuredly have been also mine, if I had been allowed to accompany him, as it was my earnest wish to do.

There were two directions by which we were open to attack, from the enemy, whenever they should be disposed to make the experiment. One over the point in our front projecting towards Anjadeva, and the other, by the Hyder gauht, at the distance of seven or eight miles, on the same range to our left. Capt. Carpenter had now joined us with the remainder of our force, excepting what had been left for the protection of Sadashugurr. Our Commandant was also accompanied by Mrs. Carpenter, who continued with us, under many an alarm, to the termination of our short campaign; and who, by her maternal kindness, left upon our minds an impression which could never be obliterated. Detachments were now sent to occupy both the pass in our front, and the more distant one, on the summit of Hyder gauht. Lieut. Lawrence was the first to take charge of that in our front, and Lieut. Ross of the other.

These advanced posts were designed to be relieved every week; and I was the next to take charge of that on Hyder gauht, from my friend Ross. About the same time, Capt. Carpenter with the main body, moved to a situation about midway, or four or five

miles from either post, and on the flats skirting the woods, with which the hill-range is covered on both sides.

The ascent of Hyder gauht, on the north side, is very steep, and about three hundred yards in distance. On the south side, the ascent is more gradual; the road winding through the woods for some miles. A large tree had been formerly felled across the road at the summit of the gauht, to obstruct us on our approach to Sadashugurr; and about thirty yards below the summit on the south side, a breast-work of loose stones had been run across the road, for the same purpose. Where this breast-work joined the hill, which rose abruptly on the left, we had mounted a half-pounder swivel gun, on a pivot; and for this formidable piece of artillery, we had forty rounds of ammunition.

I had been, perhaps, three or four days at my post; during which I had repeatedly visited with my gun, the deserted village, beautifully situated in the woodlands at the bottom of the gauht, on the north side. One forenoon, after having dismissed from parade, my party, which consisted of about forty rank and file, a report was suddenly brought me by a sepoy from the picquet in advance, that the enemy had made their appearance in our front. Hastening immediately to the breast-work, I had from thence an unobstructed view of the head of a dense column, which filled the road to some distance in the rear. At the head of the column appeared a very * complexioned man with an enormous red turban; whom at a subsequent period we understood to have been, Luximan Naik, the late excluded Killadaur of Sadashugurr. The instant the report was made to me of the presence of the enemy, I dispatched my orderly, mounted on my old Mahratta charger, to communicate the situation of my party, to head-quarters.

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* A word is omitted here—fair, or dark, probably.—Ed.

A message was now conveyed to me from the Commander of the enemy in my front, demanding that I should give up the post; since the country was to revert to its master, "the Bahauder," the appellation about this period beginning to be bestowed upon Tippoo. My reply was, that I had already sent for orders; and as soon as an answer reached me, I should see how far his demand could be complied with. During this interval of anxious suspense, which continued for some hours, directing my small advanced piquet to hold fast by the breast-work, I seated myself on a large stone, in front of the fallen tree, behind which I disposed of my party in such a way as to exhibit as imposing a front as possible. The pass at the summit of the gauht did not exceed ten or twelve paces in width; the forest approaching so close on either hand. The bristling of our bayonets behind the tree, and in the skirts of the adjoining jungle, naturally impressed upon the enemy a belief that our force was much stronger than the reality.

Exposed as we were to attack in front and on both flanks, without the smallest protection, I must have contemplated our situation as one of considerable danger. And yet I can with perfect truth aver, that I could not perceive in my devoted little detachment the slightest symptom of unsteadiness or alarm; expecting every instant, as they did, that the enemy would open his fire upon them; which we were well prepared to return, as long as our ammunition lasted. We were also well assured of effectual support at no very distant interval. However, it happened that not a shot was fired on either side; which exactly suited my purpose, which was to obtain delay.

I had continued in this state of suspense until about noon; when the sound of a drum at the foot of the gauht in our rear, announced the approach of our anxiously expected support. Not many minutes elapsed before Lieut. Ross brought up his reinforcement; and all apprehension of danger was in an

instant dispelled; our strength being thus augmented to about eighty fire-locks.

The moment they discovered that the party on the gauht was about to be reinforced, the enemy began to draw off; and Lieut. Ross arrived just in time to see the rear of the column disappearing through the openings in the forest. And next day, from a tree to our right, with our telescopes, we could perceive that they had formed a camp near the village on the beach, leading to the Terring, formerly described; and at the distance from our post of seven or eight miles; the jungle extending on that side to within half a mile of their camp.

Lieut. Ross and myself with the detachment thus reinforced, remained at the head of Hyder gauht, for a period of the duration of which I retain but a very imperfect recollection; although it must have extended to some weeks. The lonely deserted village at the foot of the gauht formerly spoken of, with the beautiful glades which opened all round, we frequently visited with our guns; the surrounding woodlands abounding in jungle-fowl; a beautiful kind of wild poultry, with the most brilliant plumage; green pigeons, and doubeiks: the latter a coarse large bird with double beak, which I elsewhere never saw. It was remarkable that on no occasion did we fall in with a tiger; although scarcely a night passed in which we did not recognize their moaning in the jungle close beside us. One visit, however, during this interval, we ventured to make; of which a little reflection, and a riper experience, might have taught us the danger and impropriety.

At the distance of about five miles north of the foot of the gauht, was the large village or town of Carwar; in which it was notorious that there resided a great number of Mussulman families. Notwithstanding this knowledge, on the invitation of a country Christian, one of the mongrel Portuguese, we consented to be present at an entertainment of

nautchnies, or dancing girls. And, accordingly, one evening after dark we rode together to the village, leaving our important post to its fate; and there continued for the greater part of the night; returning however, to the post, sometime before day-light. A sense of the extensive mischief that might have been the result, had the post been attacked during our absence; and of the indelible disgrace which would have attached to us, had it fallen into the hands of the enemy, were quite sufficient to deter us from the repetition of any more such indiscreet and dangerous excursions. But an incident was about to occur which effectually put an end to those most culpable aberrations, for which the youth of the parties can never be offered as an apology.

CHAPTER VI.

The precise date at which the circumstance occurred has escaped my recollection; but it must, I think, have been in the early part of January, 1784, when one morning before we had breakfasted, a sepoy came in haste from our advanced piquet on the road in front, and announced that a body of the enemy were coming on, along that road. Our detachment was immediately under arms; and Lieut. Ross, vaulting over the breast-work, brought our piquet in, after delivering their fire in the face of the enemy. We were both of us now standing on the breast-work across the road; and had not commenced our fire, when it was reported that the thickly wooded hill on our left was occupied by the enemy. To meet this rather unlooked for danger, Lieut. Ross with his usual promptitude, and presence of mind, immediately hastened to the spot; desiring that the sepoys at the breast-work might instantly follow. Part of the detachment at the pass, at this moment coming down to our support, instead of halting at the breast-work, passed immediately to the left; and following straight to the top of the hill, with their gallant leader, succeeded in beating off the enemy at that point.

In the meantime we were assailed at the breast-work from different points in our front; the enemy covering themselves behind rocks and trees. I have recently stated that we had mounted a half-pounder swivel gun on the left shoulder of the breast-work; and I now stood by, and worked it as well as I could, to the annoyance of our assailants; the shot cutting exactly across the head of the column in the road; and, as I afterwards understood, with very good effect. This I continued to do, with no little personal

hazard, from my exposed situation in the breast-work, until every shot of our forty rounds was expended; and the piece being frequently dismounted from its pivot. On this occasion two matchlock balls passed through the lapels of my coat.

What portion of time expired during the attack and defence on this side, I cannot now pretend to say; probably it was an hour or more. Be this however, as it may; while my exertions were sufficiently employed in repelling the attempts of the enemy in our front, and my friend was fully occupied on the top of the hill to the left, one of the sepoys from the post at the fallen tree, brought me information that the enemy were in possession of the road in our rear. I hastened without a moment's delay, to the head of the pass; and there had ample confirmation of the truth. The enemy were in the road in considerable numbers, at the distance of not more than thirty or forty yards. Ordering my party to keep up a scattered fire, I seized a musket myself; and observing one of the enemy about to enter a small hut by the side of the road, I fired, and killed him.

I now received the commanding Lieutenant's orders to try whether by a charge I could not dislodge the enemy in our rear. This I accordingly proceeded to do, although apprehensive that they would sieze the opportunity of cutting in between me and our friends on the hill. Having chased the enemy, however, a good way down the road, they finally fled with precipitation; and slipping aside into the jungle, my party had scarcely time to make one discharge of their pieces; but fairly pelted them with stones until they totally disappeared on that point.

Returning to my station at the head of the gauht, I there found that my gallant associate in danger, had been wounded in the small of the back by a matchlock ball; but our conference was suddenly cut short by a fresh alarm, that the enemy had renewed the attack upon the hill; and my friend had

scarcely left me, when, from among the trees on my left, exactly between us and the hill, at the distance of not more than thirty yards, a sharp and galling fire was suddenly opened upon us. I had, as it happened, sheathed my sword, which was a broad bladed scimeter. Some of the sepoys alternately handing their muskets to me, while others fearlessly returned the fire of the enemy, I continued, musket in hand, to pepper the enemy in the direction of a particular tree, behind which, and others adjoining, our assailants appeared thickly lodged, until my shoulder became completely blackened by the recoil of the muskets; and until, either sickened by the accumulating numbers of their killed and wounded, or, by some means or other, apprized of approaching relief, they became completely silenced. Again the animating strains of the grenadiers' march at the foot of the gaunt, announced to us, about two in the afternoon, that we were not forgotten; and shortly afterwards, Adj. Fyfe, with a respectable detachment, joined us at the head of the pass. The enemy had, however, by this time, withdrawn in every direction. The action having thus continued from about seven in the morning until two in the afternoon.

Of the force of the enemy by whom we had been thus attacked, we could never ascertain the amount; but they could not have been less than three thousand; while our utmost strength did not exceed eighty fire-locks; nearly one half consisting of recruits, raised in the district, and not above half disciplined. The loss on the part of the assailants must have been considerable; since we burnt between thirty and forty dead bodies, the next day: no small portion of the dead being found about the tree, on our left, which I have above described: the tree itself being almost riddled with musket shots. Many of the killed were known to be sent off during the action; and their wounded must have been in full proportion, at least three to one. Our own loss was inconceivably small;

a havaldaur (native non-commissioned officer) and a few sepoys killed, and a small number wounded.

Lieut. Ross, as already mentioned, was wounded in the small of the back, in which the ball was lodged to the depth of at least two inches; for so far I repeatedly probed the wound with a straw. And it is singular that he should never afterwards have experienced any inconvenience from it. I had myself several narrow escapes; some of which I have already indicated. But there was one which I could not but consider as of a very providential description. I have mentioned that during the hottest of the fire, I had sheathed my sword and taken to the musket: and now that the action was over, the people pointed out to me that a musket ball was lodged in the scabbard. When I came to examine into the fact, I found the ball one half flattened, with the fluted part of the sword deeply impressed upon it. I have been thus particular on a matter which may perhaps at first sight appear somewhat trifling; but if I had not, at a critical moment, been led, by whatever influence, to sheath my sword, I should then most probably have had a shattered thigh bone; which, in the absence of all medical aid, must have terminated fatally. The poor havaldaur had been shot through the breast, the ball lodging in the fleshy part of the back; and as he complained piteously of the agony which it occasioned, imploring that the ball might be extracted, I gave him a glass of rum; and with my razor cut the ball out of his back. He breathed his last through the orifice, and almost instantly expired.

I shall only add, that, as they imagined to secure their success, the enemy had thrown an abbatis across the road at the foot of the gauht; which, however, they hastily abandoned on the approach of Lieut. Fyfe's detachment.

Subsequent to this, we experienced no further molestation from the enemy; who appear to have been

commanded on the occasion by a Hindu Serdaur, or chief, of the name of Gungaram; and who remained from this period in a state of inaction, in the camp or cantonment, which I have already described as visible, by telescope, from our post on Hyder gauht. The challenge was, however, not unheeded, by our good and determined Commander, Capt. Carpenter; who was actively and ardently engaged in arrangements to avenge the affront.

Although I have been unable from memory, to affix the precise date of those occurrences, I am disposed to think that we were now entering into the month of October, 1783; at all events it was the period during which his Majesty's ship Bristol, commanded by Capt. Burney, and another man of war, the Isis, each of 50 guns, with troops sent from Madras, for the relief of Mangalore, lay at anchor in the bay, above the detached promontory which projects a considerable way to sea, north of Anjadeva. If I am not mistaken, my long tried and excellent friend, Maj. Moor, then a youth of thirteen, was a cadet on board the Bristol. It was now determined without further delay, to attack the enemy in the camp; availing ourselves, perhaps, of the probable impression which might arise, that we had been reinforced by a party from on board the men-of-war. Whereas we were not at this time joined by a single individual; with the exception of Mr. Field, a cadet of the year, on the Bombay establishment.

Lieut. Ross and myself, were still on duty at the head of Hyder gauht; when, early one morning, we were agreeably surprised by the arrival of Capt. Carpenter, at the head of all he could collect, of the force under his command; and it was now announced to us, that we were to proceed immediately against the enemy. Accordingly, leaving Mrs. Carpenter, who came with her husband, at the head of the gauht, under the protection of a jemmadaur and thirty sepoys, we defiled along the road, in an extended column. Our

entire strength could not amount to more than six hundred firelocks; with a two-pounder grasshopper gun, as more easily brought forward along the rugged mountain road by which we were to march. Lieut. Ross and myself, with the gauht division, had the honour to lead; expressly because we had so well defended the post.

The march of about a couple of hours brought us to the verge of the forest, and in sight of the enemy's advanced piquet of about twelve men, near the beach, in an inclosure on the outskirts of their camp. Without firing a shot, they seized their cloaks and started off the moment they caught sight of our scarlet uniform emerging from the jungle.

Our main body had not yet disengaged itself from the woods; and all we could do was, with the detached parties now in advance, to gall and harrass the enemy on their retreat; but as the beach was perfectly smooth, and presented not the smallest obstacle to their march, they had soon gained the Terring; and there separating, we saw a part take to the hill to the left; the slope of which they almost covered with their multitude.

As the enemy were manifestly paraded for retreat the moment our leading files should issue from the jungle, they left us no trophy of victory. Even the bodies of the slain were swept away by the tide, prior to our return from the pursuit. The galling fire which we kept up, on the retreating throng, could not have been entirely thrown away. As to the actual force of the enemy, from the density of the column, and the space of ground covered by it, we consider it must have exceeded, rather than have fallen short of, three thousand men. Our success was achieved, as far as I can recollect, without a single casualty; so great were the exertions to avoid rather than hazard a conflict. Neither do I entertain a doubt that we might have continued the pursuit without material opposition, all the way to Merjee. But our

return might have been attended with hazard, far beyond any attainable advantage. On this occasion was, however, fired the last shot against the tyrant of Mysore, during that momentous war.

Withdrawing from the Terring, our able and veteran commandant conducted us altogether to some open rice grounds, westward of a small pagoda, rather in front of the right extremity of the enemy's cantonment. And here, on the day following, after so many hours of agonizing suspense—for the smoke of our musketry in the attack must have been distinctly visible at the post on the gauht—Mrs. Carpenter was ushered into our camp; to her equal relief and joy.

What the possible result might have been, of a war, which teemed with so many important, and some disastrous events, had it been conducted on a different system, and with more adequate means, it would be useless to speculate at the distance of half a century. On the Bombay army, its effects were sufficiently calamitous, in the captivity and ultimate assassination of many of its best and most distinguished officers; including the Commander-in-chief, Gen. Mathews; who, strange as it may appear, contrived to leave the record of his murder, in a memorandum, singularly deposited in a tinned spice-box, subsequently discovered in the very palace of the tyrant at Seringapatam, on its triumphant capture in 1799.

The general object of the enterprize against Bednour, not extending to permanent possession, although a provisional chief and council had been appointed to it by the Bombay Government, was, doubtless, effectually obtained, in bringing Tippoo from the Carnatic to the defence of his own dominions. When, therefore, Gen. Matthews had sufficiently ascertained that the enemy were approaching to enclose him at every point, one would suppose that the course suggested to him, both by prudence and

expediency, was that of making a seasonable retreat to the coast; which would, at least, have preserved himself and his band of veterans from the horrors of captivity among barbarians; and a risk of that dismal fate which awaited so many brave and experienced officers. It is at the same time not unworthy of remark, that, had the Sultan been influenced by a sound discretion, to treat his unfortunate captives with ordinary humanity, he would, most probably, have been permitted the possession of his power for a long protracted period: whereas, by the exercise of that ferocious policy, which urged him to decree the murder in cold blood, of so many brave and defenceless individuals, he accelerated the crisis of British vengeance; and steeled the heart of every English soldier, whether European or native, against that feeling of compassion, to which the awful retribution under which he ultimately fell, would otherwise have given him a claim. Neither is it less remarkable, that to this sanguinary policy may, also, in no remote degree, be ascribed, the early attainment of that paramount superiority, which has given to England the most brilliant foreign dominion ever recorded in the history of the world.

The tranquil tenor of a camp life, in time of peace, affords so little incident for relation, that the story of the few succeeding weeks may be comprised in a very small compass.

About this period, the possession of the Carwar districts was, however, considered of so much importance, as to require the presence of a civil functionary of superior rank. And accordingly, Mr. Lovibond was sent from Bombay to take charge of the revenue department; that gentleman, of course, fixing his residence in the fort of Sadashugurr. An officer from our camp was sent to do duty, week and week about, with the small garrison; as well as to do honour to the resident. This produced some small change in the monotony of our existence, which

succeeded to those stirring scenes of excitement to which we had been so long accustomed. Nevertheless, we contrived to pass the time altogether in such a manner, that to this hour I am accustomed to look back to it with blended sensations of delight and gratitude. The paternal, and truly hospitable, attention of Capt. Carpenter, our worthy commandant, whose liberal spirit deserved a nobler fortune than that which fell to his lot, left us nothing to care for in point of living. We traversed the neighbouring forest scenery in search of jungle fowl, and other feathered game, with various success, but uniform enjoyment: and occasionally we fell in with a sauber or elk; which, however in appearance like horse flesh, with an occasional wild hog, afforded an agreeable variety to our simple fare.

Near the pagoda which we had made our head-quarters, there was a tank of no great size; but which was the abode of one of the largest alligators I have ever seen. At this formidable creature, I had repeatedly fired without success; the ball glancing off the monster's scaly panoply, as if it were clad in steel. Nevertheless, he must have been very tame; since, having erected my sleeping hut on the very edge of the tank, on any one night, of the twenty or thirty nights that I slept there, he might have taken me by the leg, and made me seriously accountable for the repeated insults of which I had been guilty.

Having continued in our unmolested cantonment for the period of three weeks or a month, the time approached when we should be called upon to return to Sadashugurr, preparatory to the final restoration of the districts, which we had so successfully defended; pursuant to the definitive treaty of peace, which appears to have been signed by the English Commissioners, in the camp of the enemy before Mangalore, about the 11th March, 1784. Towards the beginning of April, Mr. Lovibond had withdrawn to the presidency; and we were again permitted to

resume our quarters in the fort. On the 3rd or 4th of April, we were visited by several officers belonging to the garrison of Onore; which had been delivered up to the Mysoreans about the 28th of March; and they were now on their voyage to Bombay. It is needless to say that our meeting was one of the most joyous description: more especially on the part of our visitors, so recently relieved from the fatigue, anxiety, and manifold privations, incident to the circumstances of a close and protracted siege.

Not many days afterwards, some well dressed and very well looking meyers, a description of petty officers in the service of the Sultan, made their appearance, for the purpose of receiving charge of the fort—its ordnance and stores. And as the Ranger, one of the company's cruisers, was in the offing, with several minor craft, no time was lost in embarking our park of artillery—namely, one six-pounder field gun, and our little grasshopper gun; together with such of our baggage and followers, of which we were not in immediate want. There was, however, one painful preliminary to which we were bound by every principal of honour and humanity. During our brief possession of the district, we had enlisted for the service, between four and five hundred of the natives of the country; and they now expressed the utmost repugnance to leave it, although they had adhered to as with singular fidelity, during a crisis of no ordinary risk and danger. It became our indispensible duty to provide, as far as possible, for the safety of those valuable men. They were, therefore, to the number of four hundred, immediately paid off, and permitted privately to disperse themselves, in such a way as might best enable them to elude the scrutiny of the Sultan's officers; whose vengeance they had too many reasons to apprehend.

Our next attention was directed to the best means of securing our horses; and this we endeavoured to accomplish, by sending them off to the neighbouring

Portuguese districts; with the chance of their being allowed to pass to Goa. This was, however, an expedient of which we entertained but little hope of success; and we were not mistaken. They were either seized by the Sultan's people, or delivered up to them by the Portuguese; and we never saw them afterwards.

The greater part of our force, so materially reduced, was now passed over to the stockade battery, on the opposite or south side of the river, for the greater convenience of embarkation. Prior to this, having gone over myself to witness what was going on, I was requested by good old Lonsdale, to oblige him by shooting his horse; which he said he wished me to do, rather than it should fall into the hands of the enemy. Unthinkingly, I complied; and taking up a musket, shot the poor animal. The circumstance may have a trifling appearance; but the sickness of heart which I experienced when witnessing the meek endurance of the poor dumb creature, under its dying agonies, I can never forget.

The means of embarkation provided by our friends in the offing, were, however, so very defective, that we were compelled to employ for that purpose, an unfinished batella, built on the river by our Commandant during the rainy season. And it was not without considerable anxiety that we watched this unwieldy tub—for it was not much better—in its passage over the bar, with its first load. But the weather continuing favorable, it got safely alongside the receiving vessel, and returned for the remainder. And thus were the whole got off, with the exception of Lieut. Ross and myself; who with part of the grenadiers of the batt. had been left in the fort in order to deliver it over to the Sultan's officers. Capt. and Mrs. Carpenter had already embarked.

Early in the morning of the day on which it had been appointed to deliver over our charge, we closed the exterior gate of the fort; and descended to the

custom-house, on the river side: and here we found not less than forty barrels of Bombay gunpowder, for which we possessed no possible means of embarkation. We, therefore, had them rolled to the water side, and started the whole, one by one, into the river. Unfortunately some of the powder had been shed about the floor of the custom-house: and, by some accident or other, exploding, the building was immediately in a blaze, to our no small concern; lest it might be considered as done intentionally on our part. At this period our proceedings were watched with no very complacent feelings by the meyers, and twelve or fourteen of the Sultan's troops, who attended to witness our embarkation. Accordingly. when the sepoys were all on board our rickety batella, the key of the principal gate was delivered, to the meyer, by my colleague and me; and we stepped last from the land, of which we had held successful possession for more than twelve months.

As we dropped slowly with the tide along the river line, I could not avoid contemplating the works on our right with something like suspicion, which continued until we were clearly over the bar; and as the weather was perfectly serene, we managed to get alongside the Ranger, without the smallest accident, and were immediately received on board: once more happy to rejoin our worthy Commandant, and his kind and amiable consort. Capt. Pruen, the Commander of the Ranger, was a very brave and honest man; but having unfortunately for some reason or other, conceived a violent prejudice against his brethren of the land service, we were not much surprised that our reception should have been rather frigid on his part. But I must do him the justice to say, that we could perceive no indication of this dislike in the arrangements of his table; which were unexceptionally good. After a voyage without incidents, we safely anchored once more, in our noble domestic harbour of Bombay; towards the latter end

of the month of April, 1784; with the pleasing illusion on our minds, that we had a magnificent claim, on the honorable company for eighteen months' arrears of pay and allowances: most of the sepoys being, indeed, more than eight-and-twenty months in arrear; a case I believe unprecedented in any service; and affording a very strong proof of faithful attachment to those with whom they served, under every vicissitude.

CHAPTER VII.

During the period of inactivity which now took place for several years, my memory furnishes such a paucity of materials, that I have found considerable difficulty, in spinning out the thread of my simple story. Immediately on our arrival at the presidency on this occasion, my kind and lamented friend, William Morris and myself, agreed to live together. And this our association continued unbroken, until within a few months of his death; which occurred on the small island of Vipein in Malabar, while serving with Gore's batt. in the division of the Bombay army under Gen. Hartley, during the rainy season of 1789.

It is mortifying to acknowledge to what little utility or advantage, our tedious hours of leisure were now applied. The routine of guard mounting at the different gates of the garrison of Bombay, afforded but very transitory interest; and our most important occupation consisted in bringing into passable parade order, our gallant and faithful old battalion. It must be remembered, that at this period we possessed no established code of discipline to which to refer; our only system being that which existed separately in the breasts of the separate commandants of batts. who exercised their several corps at discretion, regardless of all uniformity of movement. The quality of our sepoys was however excellent; and although, through want of early discipline, they did not possess the steadiness of European soldiers, the closeness of their firings, and the precision of their ball practice, were such as to merit general approbation. We had not then, as afterwards, the example of that uniformity of exercise, and manœuvre,

exhibited for our imitation by his Majesty's troops; to whom I shall always ascribe that advance towards perfection in discipline, to which many of our native regiments, whether cavalry or infantry, have subsequently attained.

I have said that we returned to Bombay, with the pleasing illusion on our minds of soon realizing our splendid arrears of pay and field allowances. I am sorry to add that these golden dreams were destined to terminate in much disappointment. My high-sounding arrears of five thousand rupees, and upwards, ended in a paper payment called *transfer*; for the greater part of which we received only thirty-three * in the hundred; thus reducing my five thousand *sikkahs* to something about sixteen hundred and fifty; and of this, no small proportion was absorbed in the payment of our servants; whose arrears ran parrallel with our own. In fact this swallowed up, at the least, one-half of what we actually received.

It must have afforded an agreeable relief to the monotonous life in which we were now vegetating, to be engaged, sometime in the month of November, on a party of recreation, given by Capt. and Mrs. Carpenter; and including my friend Morris, good old Charles Lonsdale, and myself. Our excursion was limited to the island of Salsette; and our head quarters were fixed at Monpenseir, or, more properly Mundupiswara, the temple of Iswara, now a Portuguese church, in the north quarter of the island; and in the view of Bassein, and other places on the salt water river, which divides Salsette from the continent.

On the beautiful rural scenery to be found in every direction, in this, certainly once well-peopled, district,

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* The writer of this note, about that time, sold his paper, called *transfer*, as low as seventy-two discount:—that is, twenty-eight rupees for the hundred. One fourth of ensigns' pay—twenty rupees—was paid in *transfer*, bearing interest at nine per cent. per annum. —Ed.

and in the lovely river-reaches between Tannah and Gorabunder, not any where to be surpassed that I can recollect, the memory still dwells with delight; as well as on the many hours of social recreation, which, after our excursions in the woodlands in search of game, we enjoyed, under the noble mango trees near the church. The gilded cornices of the edifice, however otherwise in a state of dilapidation, still exhibited conspicuous proofs of former splendour; the crypt, or subterranean part, forming what anciently constituted the temple of Iswara. That this noble island, which exhibits such extensive marks of former cultivation, should have been almost deserted, is not easily to be accounted for; but the reason usually assigned is scarcity of water. To restore this beautiful territory to its former fertility, a supply of this indispensable element seems alone necessary. The hills that traverse the island in different directions must certainly contain numerous springs; and these must be abundantly replenished by the heavy rains which annually prevail here, as will in every other part of the coast of Malabar. And great resources of irrigation might be found in embanking across the gorges of the vallies, as is exemplified in many parts of the neighbouring continent.

Towards the conclusion of the year 1784, our military disposition for change was highly gratified, by the information that our batt. (the old second) was destined to relieve the garrison of Surat: of that celebrated city, of which our expectations are so ardently excited, by the graphic descriptions in that inimitable delineation of Oriental manners, the Arabian Nights. I think it must have been in the latter part of December, or beginning of the following month of January, 1785, that we accordingly embarked, for that destination, on board the Prime, a superannuated East Indiaman; then under the command of Lieut. afterwards Commodore Sutherland, of the Bombay Marine. Mrs. Carpenter accompanied her husband.

The voyage, usually a very pleasant one of four or five days during the proper season, passed without incident; unless that can be worth relating which occurred to myself. During the voyage from England, I had early accustomed myself to go to the mast head; and on the present occasion, not reflecting that I must since have considerably increased both in weight and stature, I thought I might venture to the same giddy height. I had, however, scarcely gained the main top-mast cross-trees, when I perceived the corps of midshipmen, among whom was the present Patrick Hadow, Esq. in eager pursuit; with the design of making a captive of me in the main top. Somewhat indignant at the attempt, I at once determined to elude it, at whatever risk. I siezed the top-mast back stay, and let myself fairly down. But I had scarcely descended to the level of the main top, when my arms failed me, and I came by the run, as the sailors call it, to the quarter-deck, with both hands and my side much lacerated; and it was God's providence alone that preserved me from going clear over board. In consequence of this act of exuberant folly, I was hand-bound, and totally helpless, for many days afterwards.

We left the Prime at the entrance of the Tapty, the river of Surat, so called; and were conveyed in boats to the city, which lies at the distance of about twelve miles above the bar at Domus. But in the evening, being the whole of us, hospitably entertained by Lieut. Edward Atkinson, so greatly distinguished during the siege of Onore, as well as on divers other occasions, I was destined to meet with another untoward accident.

I had not yet made myself acquainted with the arrangements, or ground plan, of an Asiatic mansion of a superior order; and coming out in the evening to the fore-part of the open saloon (or dewan khanah) where we had been dining, I was admiring the starry heavens, expanded to our view over the spacious

area in front; and stepping forward to what I conceived to have been a square flat terrace, I plunged at once, breast deep, into the tank, which, with its fountain-pipe in the middle, usually occupies the space just before the saloon. Having both hands bound up, I was not in a situation to afford myself the slightest relief; and it was scarcely less than providential, that my head did not come in contact with the pillar in the centre which supports the fountain pipe. As I was, dripping wet, my lacerated hands accutely smarting, and shivering with cold, for it was in the coldest season of the year, I was taken out of my involuntary bath, with no other injury but what I sustained from the drenching.

My friend Morris and myself had allotted to us very pleasant and commodious quarters in the castle, just beside the Commandant's, and immediately overlooking the saluting battery, and the river, with the plain on the north side extending to Randeir; supposed to occupy the site of the ancient city.

During the period of nearly two years in which we remained at Surat, we had ample leisure to survey it in every direction. And I still think that it furnished the most perfect picture of an Oriental city, of any that I have ever seen. Taking the line of the exterior wall, it fills the circumference of at least seven miles: the space between the two walls, the *jahaunpunnah*, which might be strictly called the suburbs, being, however, but thinly built upon. The streets are generally narrow, crooked, and irregular. The exterior of the dwelling-houses, as in all Asiatic towns, is generally gloomy and unpromising; but within, spacious and sometimes splendid: the Bukhshy's palace, for example. The mosques are neither numerous nor magnificient: the principal, denominated, I know not why, the Mirjam Shaumy, or "coral of Damascus," is so incumbered with the surrounding dwellings, as to be scarcely

discernable. It was then guarded with such bigotted jealously, against the admission of Europeans, that I can say but little about it. It is particularly spoken of as containing the tomb of Roumy Khaun, the founder of the castle. This latter we know to have been built as a bulwark against Portuguese aggression. The Persian chronogram—"Sudd bowud ber seina, wo jaun e ferenghy ein binna:" in English "Be this fabric a bulwark against the ambition and rapacity of the Frank"—furnishing that date of the hejra, corresponding with the year 1530, as well as the object of its construction. Prior to its capture by the English, the castle had sustained several sieges; and particularly one, conducted by the emperor Akbar in person.

The city was twice plundered by Sevajee, the celebrated Mahratta Chief, during the reign of Aurungzeib. The gentlemen of the English factory, then situated in the middle of the town, successfully defended themselves against the marauders.

At the period of our sojourn at Surat, the population could not have been much less than two hundred and fifty thousand. The British residents, then pretty numerous, dwelt partly in the castle, and partly in the Moghul houses, in the town. Many of the civil servants lived in a pleasant line of buildings erected by themselves; extending from the English Chief's residence on the river, along the inside of the exterior wall; and from the Mekkah gate to the southward. The palace of the Bukhshy, the Navab's Lieutenant, situated about two hundred yards north-east of the castle, exhibited then more of external magnificence, than any other mansion in the city. The Navab's palace, about two hundred yards from the castle, in a south-west direction, was entered through a large clumsy gate-way; but presented nothing outwardly to admire. In the eastern quarter of the town, he possessed a garden

house or villa, called the "Zoolum bary," or "garden of oppression;" for some reason similar to that which put Ahab in possession of Naboth's vineyard. This villa was sufficiently attractive; and was frequently lent to us for our convivial meetings. Another in the same quarter, called the "Illahy Bagh," or "Divine garden," was a palace in ruins; exhibiting in its dilapidated state some very pleasing vestiges of taste and magnificence. The family of the Chillibees, originally Turkish, then existed in considerable opulence; being the proprietors of several valuable ships. There were also many other families, Persian, Moghul, Jewish, and Armenian, possessed of considerable wealth and respectability. Bombay is now what Surat was then; the emporium of the West of India.

In short, Surat was then considered so enviable a residence, from the abundance and superior quality of its productions; the bracing salubrity of the climate, and, to many, unlimited exercise of field sports, that a transfer to the batt. doing duty at the station, was considered, and applied for, as a matter of great favour: insomuch that although the garrison consisted of no more than one batt. with a company of European infantry, and a detachment of artillery, of which the then regular complement of officers, would have been one field-officer, three captains, and about fourteen subalterns, it now exhibited a return of one field-officer, three captains, five captains by brevet, twenty-one subalterns, and six cadets: which, together with about twelve civil servants, and two medical men, formed an interesting society of about fifty individuals; all known to each other, and all of a respectability beyond expectation. I feel considerable interest in the record, and I cannot forbear subjoining a list of those individuals; most of whom are long since gone to their eternal repose.

OF THE CIVIL LINE.

Messrs. Day (the chief)
Green
Lewis
Corkran
Seton
Spencer
Crokat
Warden
Ramsay*
Cherry
Church
Roberts
Surgeons Spink and Puget*

ARTILLERY.

Capt. Lawman
Lieut. John Bailie
Plaistow

ENGINEERS.

Lieut. Cliff
Goddard
Johnson, C.B.*

EUROPEAN INFANTRY.

Capt. Howson
Bullock
Lieut. James Kennedy
Ens. Wynne

SECOND BATTALION OF SEPOYS.

Capt. Carpenter
Brevet ditto Whitman
Little
Grey
Foster
Boye
Lieut. Rogers
Atkinson
Brown
Fyfe
Laureston
Wynter
Beete
Ross
Tilson
Ens. Morris
Lonsdale
Price*
Brattan
Sholl
Cadets Cape*
Williams
Wightman
Bruce
Brown
Powney.

* The Asterisks demote those who are still living. (1834.)

I cannot in justice omit to state that Mr. Day, the Chief, by his inexclusive, and liberal hospitality, on private as well as public occasions, contributed most extensively to promote the enjoyments of the whole.

Maj. afterwards, Col. Charles Frederick, was the officer in command. So far as amusement was concerned, time did not bear too heavily upon us; for we had, in addition to our own particular convivial meetings, clubs, and nautches. Neither were our sporting excursions in the rich and fertile vicinity, without attraction; and many a joyous week have I passed in the distant gardens and sugar plantations, with three or four friends; all in exuberant health, and equal to the greatest fatigue. We chased the wild hog and antelope; and occasionally waded middle-deep on the clayey banks of the river, after wild duck, and other water-fowl, in great variety.

The delicious flavour of the flesh of the wild hog, fed among the sugar canes, is not to be surpassed by any article in the cook's calendar.

Capt. Bullock, our leader and guide on most occasions, and who from his skill must, one might think, have been bred a game-keeper, was a shot of the very first order. A sharp whistle from him, on quitting the outskirts of the city, generally brought to our assistance, from the very bosom of the earth, where there appeared no visible hiding place but the lair of the jackal, half a dozen bheils, the aborigines of the country; black as the soil, and naked as they were born; who, with rustic bow and arrow, and for the compensation of a few small coin, would accompany and point out to us, the best sporting ground. As a marksman, Capt. Bullock had so eminently distinguished himself on a particular occasion, that I cannot deny myself the gratification of lending the fact a place in this humble record.

While a Lieutenant, during the late war with the Mahratta states, he had been placed in command of a small party of sepoys for the defence of the fortified post of Gorabunda, on the north side of the island of Salsette, and overlooking the river, four or five miles above Bassein. In this post he was attacked one day by a very superior force of Mahrattas. By his personal intrepidity, and uncommon skill in the use of the firelock, he repulsed them, with the slaughter of more men than he numbered among his own followers; and most of them brought to the earth by his own hand. For this achievement, it was considered sufficient to remunerate him with the rank of Captain by brevet, or Captain Lieutenant for I do not exactly remember which.

All this may perhaps be considered as approaching too closely upon impertinent gossip, or *twaddl* but those days of innocent enjoyment, so thin scattered through a life of some vicissitude, ha left behind them recollections so soothing, tha have not been able to forego the recital.

Of the rainy season of 1785, I cannot say that I have retained the recollection of any circumstance worthy of relation. It passed in the ordinary course of inactivity and dearth of employment; and made us look forward, with some impatience, to the return of cocoa-nut day; that period at which the communication with the presidency re-opens, and which was then welcomed by both European and native, with equal hilarity and felicitation. The scene on the expanded river, now a noble volume of waters, and more than brim-full from bank to bank, becomes exhilarating in the highest degree; every species of river craft being in motion to receive the first cruizer of the season; and traversing the broad stream in endless variety. This gives animation to the picture, and amusement to the myriads of human beings, swarming along the walls and landing places, to witness the spectacle. This is also the period at which it is most pleasant to ascend the river, to the villages along its banks; amidst the waving verdure of jowary, and other green crops: the refreshing breeze on the bosom of the flood, giving elevation to the spirits, and appetite for the succeeding convivial repasts.

If I were to narrate the occurrences of the succeeding period, in the rainy season of 1786, I should exhibit nothing more than a repetition of the same scenes of amusement; marked, perhaps, with a deeper character of dissipation, as distinguished the former year.

The appointment to do the duty of Adjutant to the batt. during the absence of Lieut. Fyfe, offered me at this time the opportunity of acquiring a more competent skill in military evolution, than is in any other way to be attained.

The Chiefship of Surat, at the period of which I am speaking the second civil appointment under the Bombay government, and perhaps the first in emolument, had now devolved upon Mr. Ramsey; and the

cold season of 1786, passed in scenes of increasing gaiety and recreation. Among other amusements, then, for the first time, introduced, were masqued and fancy balls; which were conducted with a taste and splendour not easily surpassed. The groups of sylphs, and other fairy forms were peculiarly elegant. It was at one of those balls that Cæsar Sutton, in the character of Achilles, and attired in a superb suit of armour of imitative gold, attracted universal admiration.

Our period of two years duty at Surat was now drawing to its close; and in reviewing the catalogue of nothings with which that period has been taken up, I should rejoice if I were able to state that there were many items on which I could venture to dwell without regret. More especially, I lament that in the very best school for Persian and Hindustany, I should have neglected to devote every hour of leisure, and they were very many, to acquire a proficiency in these two dialects; so essentially useful to such as may be laudably emulous of a successful and honourable career in the service. This, with a little ordinary application, is not beyond the reach of any one. But as matters stood, I merely passed a slight examination in the Hindustany, to enable me to receive, what has long been discontinued, the monthly sum of thirty rupees: then called *language money*. That I should have neglected an opportunity so precious, was to me, at a subsequent period, the subject of bitter and unavailing regret; and I am disposed to dwell upon it the more seriously, in the hope that what I have experienced, may serve as a caution to some future aspirant after distinction, to seize, with avidity, on those occasions of improvement, that once lost can never be regained.

Either at the end of December, or the beginning of the following month of January, 1787, the batt. arrived by which we were to be relieved. It is rather odd that I cannot call to mind the number of that

batt.; but I well recollect that it included in its list of officers, the names of Lieut. John McDonald, Edward William Foreman (now Col. Foreman, an active magistrate for Kent) and Michael Kennedy. We now took our leave of the massive towers of Surat castle, and the well supplied markets of the town. My friends Morris, Lonsdale, Mathew Brattan, and myself, embarked, with part of the second batt. on board of a batella, in which, without accident, we reached the Presidency, after a cheerful and sociable voyage of four or five days. Thus again, with the sensations of home fluttering about the heart, we were permitted to ascend the steps of the pier-head: and here we were now to fix our home, for a period yet hidden in the bosom of futurity.

As the joint stock concern, between my friend Morris and myself, had hitherto tended to our equal comfort and convenience, it was determined to continue it; and we accordingly rented the upper part of a small house, in Love-lane; the lower floor of which was in the occupation of Mons. Hauton; a respectable friseur of the *veille cour;* who had once realized a considerable fortune; all of which he lost, by lending to an insolvent patron. Here we remained to the end of the rainy season of 1787.

In the mean time, our early mornings were assiduously occupied under the direction of our worthy commandant, in bringing our veteran batt. into a state of discipline, preparatory to review. This could not have required a period of any great duration; and accordingly, after assiduous practice, the review took place on the esplanade; in the presence of Governor Boddam, and a numerous concourse of spectators, from all parts of the island.

It may be curious, at this distance of time, to describe from memory, some of the varieties in evolution put in practice on that day. After the ordinary routine, of passing in review and saluting; and the usual firing in grand and sub-divisions; that

commenced, which I never saw successfully practised either before or since; and the complicated difficulty of which would render it impracticable, any where else than on the parade of exercise. The batt. was told off into twenty sections: the four batt. grand divisions into sixteen, and the two flank companies, into two each. The firing was kept up for two rounds, from flanks to centre of the batt. and from flanks to centre of grand divisions; and as it was accomplished without failure, or faltering in the smallest degree, it had a very animating effect; and the more so on ourselves, as the same species of firing had been attempted without success by other battalions.

Our closing manœuvre consisted in separating the two wings, and placing them in opposition to each other, with the grenadier and light companies divided on the flanks. After a firing by sub-divisions, and a volley from each wing, respectively, they charged, until their bayonets clashed. The wings then reuniting by the right and left files, led out from the centre in a column of four deep; and deploying into line to the front, gave a last volley, charged, and saluted. The day terminated with a splendid ball at the theatre, given by our kind and liberal commandant.

Our professional calls having been thus discharged for the present, my friend Morris and myself accompanied our commandant and his lady on an excursion to the hot springs at Visrabhoy, or Vijinautjoghy, in the Mahratta district between Callian and Bassein; and about forty miles to the northward of Bombay. It is, or at least was, the resort of many families from the Presidency, both European and native; either for health or recreation, during the fair season; that is, between the months of October and June. It is otherwise memorable in British history, as being situated very nearly at the northern termination of the long valley, which has been significantly denominated "Hartley's trap." The gallant Colonel of that name, having been surrounded in it by a superior

Mahratta force—some time during the year 1779. To him, however, the trap was innocuous; the Mahrattas withdrawing on the death of their commander, Gunnis Punt, who was killed by a six-pound shot levelled by Capt. Whitman; one of the officers of Capt. Carpenter's batt. which served on the occasion, under the orders of our commandant. To him, therefore, it was a spot of two-fold interest; the friend—Col. Hartley—to whom he was so much attached, having been there so critically engaged; and his own batt. having there also shared so conspicuously in the operations of the day.

At this secluded watering place, for so it may be called, surrounded as it is on every side with forest-clad hills, and the hot springs of which are some of them in the very bed of the river, we continued for about ten days: during which our principal occupation consisted in scouring the woods around, for wild beasts and game. We committed some havoc among the peacocks, with which the wooded vicinity abounded; and occasionally fired a shot at a hyena or two. We then directed our steps westward; and an amusing journey of about twelve miles brought us to the neighbourhood of Bassein. We lodged ourselves in the tope north of the town, just in the rear of the spot, on which our breaching battery was constructed; during the siege carried on against the place, by the Bengal and Bombay troops, under the command of Gen. Goddard. The Division under Col. Hartley, above referred to, had been employed to cover the siege.

It must be recollected, that Bassein was at this period of our tour, on Salsette, in the possession of the Mahrattas; but although situated on a spot of singular fertility, the island on which it stands being formed between two rivers and the sea, and teeming with indigenous vegetable production of every description, it did not afford sufficient attraction to detain us more than two or three days. The fort, a regular polygon, erected by the Portuguese, without,

however, out-works of any description, had sustained, many years since, a protracted siege from the Mahrattas; in consequence, be it remembered, of an absurd attempt to coerce the Hindus into Christianity; for which the Portuguese for ever lost, not only Bassein, but the whole island of Salsette. We had proceeded to the landing place, east of the fort, on our departure; when just as we had stepped on board the passage boat, some of the custom-house people thought fit to interpose to prevent such departure. As we had our luggage secure on board, and we were all of us armed with our fowling pieces, Mrs. Carpenter herself included, we held them ready to present; and warned those worthies, at their peril, to detain us a minute longer. This attitude of resolute defiance had an immediate effect; and they suffered us to push off without further obstruction. We then proceeded up the river to Gorabunder, the scene of Capt. Bullock's gallant achievement, formerly alluded to, and where there once existed some very good quarters; although much exposed to the violence of the north westerly winds. We passed the night at the neighbouring favourite resort of Monpenseir; and next day we continued our journey to Mahim; the station on the inlet of the sea, which separates the island of Bombay at its northern extremity, from that of Salsette —by the native usually called Shasty. At Mahim we dined by appointment, and spent the day with our old acquaintance Mr. Lovibond; and at night returned to our quarters at the presidency.

This, which was destined to be the last of our excursions with our excellent commandant and his lady, has left upon my mind the most pleasing recollections. In the succeeding month of July, Capt. and Mrs. Carpenter took their departure for England, by way of China, in a country ship, commanded by Capt. Council; and in the expectation that probably we should never meet again.

At the conclusion of the rainy season of 1787,

with many other officers then in garrison at Bombay, my friend Morris and myself, availed ourselves of the general permission to erect a temporary bunglah on the western esplanade; where we continued for the whole of the succeeding dry season; with no less comfort, than convenience for parade duty; with which we were now again in busy occupation.

It was during this period, while dining in the tents of our new commandant, Capt. Facy, that, roused by an alarm of fire in the rear of the sepoy barracks, our whole party hastened to the spot; in order to render all the assistance in our power. As we separated in different directions, I happened to present myself, where the police people—half-cast Portuguese of the island, generally employed in that department—were actually breaking open the chests of the unfortunate sufferers, and dividing the contents. Little aware of the danger to which I was exposing myself, I interposed to put a stop to this course of atrocious robbery. Instantly some of the villians seized one of the rafters, and struck it with such violence on the right side of my head, that I became in a moment covered with blood from head to foot. My sensations at the instant, I perfectly recollect, were as if a bucket of warm water had been poured over me. Providentially I did not fall: but drawing my sword I rushed forwards, towards the miscreants, which probably deterred them from finishing their work, as they immediately fled on my approach; no less terrified, perhaps, by my spectre appearance in a gore of blood. At the same time some of the sepoys of the batt. recognizing me, were preparing to wreak their vengeance on the ruffians; when Mr. Crow, a much respected civilian, to whom I was then entirely unknown, came up; and apprehensive that some serious mischief might ensue, intreated that I would use my endeavour to dissuade the sepoys from resorting to any act of violence. Although greatly irritated by a sense of the unprovoked injury which

I had sustained, I immediately felt the propriety of the suggestion; and prevailed upon the sepoys to desist. I then rejoined my companions, by whom I was assisted to the tents; where the wound in my head was regularly examined, and the usual remedies applied to stop the hæmorrhage.

For the atrocious injury which had nearly thus cost me my life, I never could obtain the slightest redress; and, in truth, I found it impossible to trace or identify the authors. What greatly added to my mortification, they basely retorted upon me the accusation of the robbery; asserting that the attempt to plunder was on my part; and that the act of breaking up the chests and boxes was for the purpose of saving the property. At least, it was so reported by their superintendent; although he must have been fully convinced of the atrocious falsehood. The effusion of blood was so great as to prevent all access of fever; so that after a confinement of about three weeks I was again able to resume my avocations. The ill effect produced being limited to the deep gash on my head, which remains, as a memorial of the injury, to this day.

On the 2nd February, 1788, I obtained my Lieutenant's commission; five years two months and a few days subsequent to that of Ensign. We continued on the esplanade to the commencement of the rains of the same year; when we broke up from our cool agreeable cantonments, for a very confined ground-floor house, in what was then called "military square."

It was considered an event of some importance in the history of our establishment, that on the 6th of September, 1788, Gen. Medows arrived at Bombay, as governor, and Commander-in-Chief of the army. My recollection does not furnish me with any incident worth the relation, prior to the conclusion of the year; unless as such might be estimated a very pleasant excursion up the sedge-bound river of Callian, for some miles above that ancient town,

which we were not permitted to enter. My companions, including my poor friend Morris, were Capt. afterwards, Gen. John Bailie, Lieut. Brattan, and Dr. Moir, one of the principal surgeons on our establishment. The enjoyment of those parties, did not, however, consist so much in the quantity of game which we killed, as in the variegated scenery; and the temporary relaxation from the restraints of military discipline: of which latter, if he were living, Dr. Spink could give a striking proof, when we stormed his yacht at anchor in the river. And as this party was the last of the kind in which I was permitted to partake, under similar circumstances, it has perhaps left a deeper impression on my mind. None of my companions are now living to enjoy the retrospect.

It must have been about the close of the month of November, 1788, that Lieuts. Morris, Lonsdale, and myself, were ordered down the coast to Tillecherry, on board of one of the company's cruisers, commanded by Capt. Bond, of the marines. Our destination was to make up the complement of officers, for the three new modelled batts. organizing at that subordinate, under Capts. Gore, Little, and Riddell; namely the 7th, 8th, and 9th; to which, respectively, Morris, Lonsdale, and myself, were now attached—and thus were separated from one another, and from the sepoys, to whom we had been so long known: those, who, for so many years, had lived, and served, together, under some circumstances of trying difficulty.

Whether this was a measure of intentional policy, arising from distrust in the loyalty of the company's officers, never before suspected, I cannot pretend to determine; but in thus separating from the sepoys, generally, those officers, to whom, from habit and gratitude, they had been for so many years attached; those ties were torn asunder, which gave more moral strength to the service, than any code of discipline can ever supply.

It were almost needless to observe that we had a short and pleasant voyage, on a coast which—when the wind is fair—is celebrated for delightful sailing. We landed safely at Tillecherry, where my unchanging friend and myself, occupied one of the comfortable permanent bunglahs, on the precincts of the esplanade south of the fort. This we were enabled to purchase through the assistance of a kind Irish friend, Lieut. William Auchinleck. From this period to the commencement of 1789, we were exclusively occupied in the business of the drill; relieved at intervals by an intercourse of the utmost harmony and sociability, admirably supported by our commanding officers.

The parade of the 9th batt.to which I had been attached, was on the shelving plain between Cuddowly hill and Moracoona; which gave us a breathing both morning and evening, sufficient to make repose agreeable, during the heat of the day. Capt. afterwards Gen. Gore, who commanded the 7th, an accomplished and most gentlemanly officer, occupied the spacious cadjan (or leaf-covered) house on the side of the hill, north of the fort; at whose hospitable and splendid table, we partook of many a luxurious and I will add instructive, repast: in which, wit all that could allure the appetite, were free blended discussions on the subject of our pr fession. He survived, as I have already intimat to become a general officer; and to return to E land; united to a most amiable and lovely wom But he is long since no more. Neither was our distinguished commandant, Capt. Riddell, less posed to be kind and hospitable.

It was at this period that the intercourse menced between myself, and my old, excellent f Maj. Moor; who was soon after appointed Ad of our newly-formed batt.—an intercourse, wh been matured by time into the closest frien and which I trust can end, only in that

chamber where all human passions, as well as frailties, are for ever laid at rest. Lieut. afterwards Col. Seale, had the right, and I had the left, flank company.

In order to maintain in tolerable operation, the intercourse of a good fellowship in which we had the happiness to live—as we were at this time closely circumscribed within the exterior lines, so successfully defended against the troops of Hyder Ally, which were still kept in repair, and requiring to be strictly guarded—it must be acknowledged that our resources were not of the most ample description. We were constrained to feed our own mutton and poultry: I mean those whose monthly allowances were adequate to the expense; but the ever friendly ocean furnished us with an abundant, and unfailing supply of most delicious fish, in great variety. Our excursions were generally limited to the circuit of the lines: Moylan fort, at the south-western extremity, being generally the scene of our evening promenade, to which we were usually conveyed in that fantastic machine, called the "Tillecherry chair." These excursions were, however, occasionally extended along the shore to the southward, to the French settlement at Mahé. On one of those occasions we were surprised to find, at intervals, small parties of armed Nairs, occupying the beach; who informed us they were in insurrection against their fierce oppressor, Tippoo; whose troops, they said, they had for the present expelled the country. Unfortunately for them, this only led to the entrance into Malabar, of that overwhelming force of the Sultan's troops, which, at a subsequent period—that is, subsequent to the departure of our brigade from Tillecherry—exhibited themselves in massive columns, marching ostentatiously within musket-shot of our lines.

These were, undoubtedly, a part of that army, which, ten or twelve months afterwards, attacked the lines of Travancore; and by their appearance in

the vicinity of Tillecherry, induced the officers, on the consequent extraordinary duty exacted from them, to apply to government for a trifling additional allowance, in consideration of the severity of such additional duty. Gen. Medows' reply was conveyed in the following brief and caustic terms — "you are not to expect additional allowances every time a banditti may look over the hedge."

In January, 1789, the troops from Bombay destined for our relief arrived; and the necessary arrangements were made for our immediate departure from Tillecherry.

At this distance of time, I cannot venture to offer more than a conjecture as to the number of human beings that composed the mixed population of the native part of this, one of the oldest of our settlements; but it must have amounted to many thousands. I should say from fifteen to twenty thousand, at the most moderate computation; which, however thinly, as, in some places, the habitations stood, yet in a semi-circle of more than a mile in radius, would seem to be no exaggeration. Of this mixed and heterogeneous mass, composed as it was, of Nairs, and Tiers, and native Christians, Moplahs, and Mukwas, it betokens well, both of the governors and those governed, that, conflicting in materials as it seemed, not an instance occurred, during the long and protracted siege sustained against the armies of the Mysorean, that could impeach the loyalty or fidelity of any one of the whole. Amidst every vicissitude, they stood unshaken in faith, to the last. And I cannot, even now, help thinking, that such an example of unswerving truth, deserved some permanent memoral, for the imitation of other times.

Referring, indeed, to the manner in which the dwellings of both the Nairs and Tiers are arranged, generally within a massive clay inclosure ten or twelve feet high, and thick in proportion, it is not difficult to conceive how effectually they might be

defended by a few resolute men, with fire-arms, against an enemy engaged and embarrassed in the roads and alleys which intersect the cocoa-nut plantations, in various directions: and this may, probably, have inspired that courage which gave stability to their attachment. Another motive probably was, the sure conviction of the tender mercies of the enemy, towards those who stood in arms against his aggressions.

It may not, perhaps, be without interest to state that there then still remained at Tillecherry, some very respectable Portuguese inhabitants, descended from the famed original stock; and among these, one, in particular, known to be lineally sprung from the renowned Vasco de Gama; the celebrated commander. Of the individual, Signor de Gam, I have retained a full recollection; being the only person I ever saw perform the movements of the fandango in perfection; and the more remarkable in him, because he was an unwieldy man, of more than middle age. It is, perhaps, needless to observe further, that there exists scarcely a spot on the Malabar coast, from Cape Comorin to Diu, in which the Portuguese have not left vestiges of their once formidable dominion.

To those who have resided at Tillecherry for a period of any permanence, it might appear something strange, if I omitted to touch upon one subject, the most delicate of all others; and it scarcely need be explained, that I refer to that part of the population which includes the gentler sex. This, however, I may venture to assert, that as to the women of the Nair and Tier castes, I do not think that nature ever gave existence to forms of more perfect symmetry, or of greater delicacy of feature; however in complexion, they may be of a deeper shade, than their sisters in a more northern latitude. Of this, if the traveller be desirous of ocular proof, let him repair some fine day, to the tank at the brass pagoda: and unless times are greatly altered, I will engage to promise

him the sight of many a string of Nairtchies, amply sufficient to convince him that I have not been indulging in the visions of fancy; although he will not fail to perceive, from their well-armed male attendants, that these Malabar beauties are not to be approached without danger. Of the connubial system of this class of females, I am not prepared to speak with equal approbation; immemorable usage having allotted to their caste a plurality of husbands; and, strange as it may appear, I have never heard that this liberal arrangement has been attended with any inconvenience; the inheritance always descending to the female, and so far ensuring an immutability of stock. Of the Tierties, possessed of almost equal beauty, it is remarkable, that although in early life they are generally in a state of unchaste concubinage, they at last marry and become very faithful and industrious wives, to men of their own caste; to whom their former habits do not appear to render them at all objectionable.

CHAPTER VIII.

On Tuesday, the 3rd of February, 1789, Lieut. afterwards, Col. Joseph Boden—who has secured to himself an immortal name by founding the Shanscrit professor-ship at Oxford—and myself; with two companies of the ninth batt. amounting to about one hundred and forty rank and file, together with their families, embarked for Bombay on board of a batella, bearing the common name of Ruparel; the signification of which I have never been able to learn.* On the beach, prior to embarkation, we had experienced some bustle in consequence of the claim of some Moplas to search our ranks for an absconded female slave; who, they said, had been seduced by one of our sepoys. The lady was, however, by some means or other, secreted—escaped the search, and was conveyed safe on board.

We weighed anchor for departure about nine in the forenoon, but anchored again off Cuddouly at eight in the evening: thus, in eleven hours, accomplishing not more than a mile of northing; and affording no very agreeable foretaste of what we were about to experience, in working up against a powerful north-wester, now obviously set in for the season. Next day, however, having weighed with the land wind, we found ourselves, at day-break, abreast of Cananore; and between six and seven in the evening came to an anchor off Mount Dilly. On the day following—namely, Thursday, the 3rd of February—notwithstanding we had weighed between twelve and one in the morning, we had advanced no further

* May it be from rupee—or rupa; silver—or specie? Ruparel may thus be the "money bringer."—Ed.

lf-past six in the afternoon, than the latitude of
ame Mount Dilly; which bore due east of us.
n Friday, the 6th of February, at day-light, we
e becalmed close in shore about four miles to the
thward of Mt. Dilly; but between six and seven
lock a gentle land breeze sprung up, and gave our
ssel tolerable head-way. At eight o'clock we were
sight of Dehecub, or Deckla; which, to the offing,
exhibited a formidable exterior of towers; and at sun-
set we came to an anchor about three miles south-
ward of that place. Of Deckla it will be recollected,
that during the early operations of the army under
Gen. Mathews, it made an obstinate defence against
a detachment of our troops; who, in an attempt to
storm, were beaten back with loss; Lieut. Pearson,
a veteran officer of the Bombay establishment, who
had already lost a leg, being killed on the occasion.
The place, however, was reduced a short time after-
wards.

On the 7th of February, we weighed anchor abou
one in the morning, with an agreeable land breez
which enabled us to stand along shore with
couraging success. At sun-rise, however, Mo
Dilly was still in sight: reminding us of Sinb
magnetic mountain. Mount Formosa, so calle
suppose, by our navigators from its bold form
being in sight about N.N.E. we considered our
ing's work rather favourable.

About sun-set we came to an anchor be
Mangalore and a small fort, four or five miles
northward of it. During the night we we
demned to support the endurance of a very t
tumbling swell.

On the 8th of February, we weighed anch
in the morning; but the land breeze pr
favourable, we made but little progress to
ward.

There were, at this period, in compa
the boats of Lieuts. Seale and Brown;

eighth, and some others of our brigade flotilla. We anchored at sun-set, off what we now ascertained to have been the ruins of Mangalore. The octagon work, south of the entrance of the river, appeared to be still entire; but what was the fortress of Mangalore, so celebrated for its gallant defence under Maj. Campbell, was now a heap of red earth. There were some nine or ten gallivats* at anchor in the roads.

It is to be recollected that, limited as we were to a space of not more than about ten feet by eight, for toilet, bed, and board, in the open stern part of our batella, we must have been rather curtailed in the exercise of our muscular powers; and I, accordingly, find it here remarked in my diary, that I was much amused by the capers cut by my fellow passenger, whose robust form was but ill calculated for feats of activity.

Monday, the 9th of February—we weighed anchor about one in the morning; the wind at the commencement N. by E.—but becoming gradually more favourable. At sun-rise, however, the northern extreme of land bore N. by W.—the three officers' boats considerably ahead of us. At two in the afternoon stood in for the land. A little before sun-set we were in sight of a white fort to the southward; with a fine level beach abreast of us. At eight in the evening we wore and stood to sea; and continued off and on during the night.

10th of February—at sun-rise, a sail was in sight, bearing W. by S. supposed to be the Bombay Grab. At eleven in the forenoon we wore, and stood for the land; determined to anchor, on finding that our last night's cruize had been of little service to us. At sun-set, accordingly, we cast anchor about six miles to the northward of the Palmira rocks. In consequence of the heavy swell from N.W. we experienced during the whole of the night, the most

* Square-rigged coasters, with two masts.

irksome rolling, which indeed set repose at defiance; and we were devoutly wishing that this might be our last boating voyage, against a north-wester.

11th of February—we weighed anchor at three in the morning; making, however, but little progress. The Palmira rocks now astern. The swell but little abated. We wore at noon, and stood for the land; and at half-after five o'clock, the other boats in company doing the same, we anchored. The Palmiras still in sight to the southward. Here it is proper to remark, that on our approach from sea, the eye was in many places deceived by what bore the resemblance of fortifications; but which on approximating, we frequently discovered in reality to be nothing but the banks of sand, thrown up by the winds, parallel with the beach. There were, nevertheless, substantially, at intervals, three or four fortified posts, although perhaps of no great importance; altogether tending to strengthen the opinion I once hazarded, of the probability of a successful retreat from Cundapour to Mangalore. During the whole of the night we were harrassed as before, by the same turbulent, and uncompromising, north-westerly swell.

12th of February—we weighed our anchor at four in the morning; and at sun-rise, found ourselves abreast of what we conceived to have been Cundapour river. Lieut. Seale's boat was this day compelled to put back for Tillecherry, having unfortunately sprung her main-mast. Becalmed at ten in the forenoon, abreast of the St. Mary's rocks, we found it expedient to cast anchor. At noon, however, we weighed again, and stood for the land. About one o'clock we opened Cundapour river; part of the works of that place appearing on the south side of the entrance. The wind became now a little more favourable, giving us a pretty successful stretch to the northward. Nevertheless, between five and six in the afternoon, we found it necessary to come to an

anchor; about four miles to the northward of Cundapour; a rock abreast of us in-shore. Hog island was in sight, bearing N.W. about fifteen miles. The swell still continued irksome and disagreeable; but not quite so harrassing as during the two preceding nights.

13th of February—between twelve and one in the morning, we ventured to weigh, with a flickering kind of land breeze; and our progress was, accordingly, rather slow. By sun-rise, however, we had somewhat diminished our distance from Hog island. At ten in the forenoon we made Pigeon island; Hog island then bearing N. by W. At one in the afternoon we were obliged by the perverseness of our tindal, or boat-master, to wear and stand in for the land; the other boats being a great way to windward. As we apprehended, our progress was very discouraging; and a little after six o'clock, we dropped our anchor in five fathoms, four or five miles to the southward of Hog island. There lay between us and Hog island, a remarkable insulated rock.

As we had calculated that a period of ten or twelve days would have brought us to the close of our voyage, we had been rather liberal in our expenditure of stock; and our poultry had by this time become alarmingly reduced. My kind and indulgent friend Boden's domestic, John, was an excellent cook; and, with the aid of the salubrious sea air, which we were inhaling both day and night, contrived to make our repasts most palatable. I still look back with no unpleasant relish, to our well flavoured breakfasts of kedjeree and tamarind fish; or broiled bumbalo; and such tea—honest unadulterated hyson—as I shall never taste again. Our dinners varied, from country captain,* with excellent Calicut yam, curry,

* Fowl, fried or stewed, with onions, butter, pepper, salt, &c.—a very savory dish.—Ed.

and beautiful rice, to kedjeree and cabaubs;* sometimes in alternation; but not unfrequently, when our appetites were more keenly set, all these together. As we had no sheep, a fourth common variety of Indian fare, an a la braise, was necessarily dispensed with. But we had goats† on board, which supplied us with excellent milk in sufficient abundance. With such lavish consumption, it was therefore not surprising that our poultry should have disappeared. And after all, with a bottle of excellent Madeira, and an occasional draught of pale ale, I do not think that our fare was altogether to be despised; the more especially when seasoned with the unconquerable good humour of my kind-hearted fellow voyager; now no more.

14th of February—about one in the morning, we weighed anchor with a very fine land breeze; but so sluggish was the sailing of our batella, that we derived but little advantage from the favourable change. From the same vexatious defect, we were compelled to forego the attempt of weathering Pigeon island. It is here to be observed, that to the natives, Hog and Pigeon islands, are known by the names of Nidra Nidry. A ship and snow were within sight proceeding to the southward. On this occasion the tindal deceived us with respect to Fortified island. At two in the afternoon we wore, and succeeded in weathering Pigeon island. At sun-set the breeze

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* Chicken, or mutton, cut into dice, and stuck on a skewer, alternately with pieces of onion and ginger—and fried with butter, pepper, salt, &c.—another very savory dish—usually associated with kedjeree: which is, rice, boiled with turmeric and onions, whole—and cardamoms.

These dishes might be profitably introduced into the English cusine. They are, perhaps, occasionally seen, at the tables of old Indians.—Ed.

† Goat milk is much used, on the western side of India, for tea. So is buffalo milk. Cow milk, seldom or never.—Ed.

became more decidedly favourable, and enabled us to make a N. by E. course; which to our great delight, protracted, for some hours at least, the irksome ceremony of casting anchor. We stood in shore until ten at night, when we found ourselves, unexpectedly, close in with the land about Fortified island, to the no small alarm of our subadaur;* whose experience of the horrors of incarceration in the prisons of the Bahauder, was too recent not to awaken the most direful recollections. We immediately put about, and made a W. N.W. course; the wind during the night becoming more and more favourable.

On Sunday, the 15th of February, at day-light, found ourselves abreast of Rajamundroog, with Fortified island in sight, astern. The other boats of our flotilla, in shore, near the village of Gocurn, about three miles to the northward. The harassing swell, to our great comfort, had now entirely subsided. The last twenty-four hours run was the best we had experienced since our departure from Tellicherry; and we dared to flatter ourselves with a continuance of the friendly breeze from the land. At one in the the afternoon we wore, as usual, and stood in for the land; but as if fortune were bribed to disappoint us, when our hopes were brightest, the wind came suddenly round to a quarter so adverse, that we were compelled to cast anchor at sun-set, in Ancola bay; and so much to the southward of Anjadeva, that, notwithstanding their predilection for English coin, we could not expect to be visited by our old friends, the island Portuguese. The land of which we were now abreast, could not fail to awaken in us some very pleasing recollections of times past, mixed with unavailing regret, that they never more were to return. Carwar head

* The highest rank of native commissioned officer—one to each company. All native commissioned officers are subordinate to all European commissioned officers.—Ed.

at this period bore N.W. by N. the wind N.W. blowing rather fresh. We had now, however, the consolation to reflect, that although some unforeseen misfortune might befal us, there could be no longer any irresistible necessity of bearing away back to Tillecherry.

16th February—we weighed anchor, as was frequently the case, between twelve and one in the morning: the land breeze being, however, too feeble to give us much head-way. At day-light Anjadeva was about a mile ahead. Contrary to expectation not a single black-stocking came near us, for which we were at a loss to account. At ten in the forenoon, I had a view of our old quarters—Sadashugurr; over the neck of land that connects Carwar head with the points under Binghy gaught; the latter being near the extremity of the ridge, over which the road passes from Ancola to Sadashugurr. The island of Coorumgurr, opposite the entrance of Carwar river, was at this time also in sight, round the head. At one in the afternoon we wore; making however, but a discouraging stretch of it, as between five and six o'clock we were compelled to anchor between Anjadeva and the head, about a quarter of a mile to the southward of the latter. Hence we observed several vessels at anchor, between Anjadeva and the main; which may have accounted for the inattention which we conceived we had experienced from our ancient allies. The north-wester freshened, and the swell became as troublesome as ever.

17th February—between twelve and one in the morning, we again weighed anchor, with a flattering land breeze; but before we could derive much advantage from it, shifting round to the westward of north, we were compelled to stand off to sea. At sun-rise Carwar bay was open to us, with an indistinct view of Sadashugurr. At this period we perceived four suspicious looking pattemar boats a few miles in-shore of us; and about eleven in th

forenoon, one of them came within hail; the others keeping aloof in opposite directions. As we suspected, they turned out to be Malawans; but conceiving from our appearance that in the language of the fancy, we might become "ugly customers," the one which hailed us, after some impertinent questions, drew off; pretending that he had merely come to inform us that one of our boats had been compelled to bear up for Tillecherry. For this conciliatory proceeding we could, however, easily account. An athletic Abyssinian havaldaur* of my company, with twelve picked grenadiers, lay down in the fore-part of our batella, with their pieces levelled over the gunnel: a spectacle which did not exactly suit the purpose of the strangers; for those piratical marauders seldom attack any but the defenceless.

We now despaired of making more than our former anchoring ground; and accordingly went about at a little after twelve o'clock. Nevertheless, by dint of some really good steering on the part of our tindal, who had himself taken the helm, we succeeded in weathering the Oyster rocks; and a little before five in the afternoon we let go our anchor abreast of my old acquaintance, the fortified island of Coorumgurr. We had lost sight of the other boats in the morning, with the exception of our solitary consort of the eighth batt. which anchored at the same time with ourselves.

The tediousness of the voyage began to sap the equanimity of the most hardened voyager amongst us; and we were disposed to apprehend that if the land breeze of the morning should fail to lend us a friendly push forward, our stock of patience would scarcely last us into port. The swell at this moment was exceedingly turbulent and harrassing; in spite

* The highest rank of native non-commissioned officer—equivalent to serjeant.—Ed.

of which, my kind fellow voyager continued in the enjoyment of a good sound sleep; happily insensible to the cares, and anxieties of a troublesome world;—and yet no one had greater reason to murmur at the protracted length of the voyage than my dormant friend; returning as he was, with a well-stocked purse, to that which was to him the land of milk and honey. But what avails it? He, poor fellow, is long since gone to his account; while, with far inferior merits, the narrator is still permitted to live and tell the story. Neither can I forget how frequently I have been invited to share his purse, and partake of his disinterested and friendly hospitality.

At eleven this night, much against his inclination, and not without considerable importunity, we prevailed upon our tindal to anticipate the operations of the morning. For the purpose of shifting it to the opposite side, we now hoisted the main yard; at the imminent risk, at every succeeding surge, of carrying away both mast and yard. By dint, however, of toil and perseverance, this was at last accomplished, my friend and myself looking on the whole time, with anxious and painful suspense. The yard was then lowered; and the main-sail being unfurled, it was immediately rehoisted to trip the anchor. Our apprehensions were now awakened by a fresh object of alarm, that of drifting before the swell upon the Oyster rocks to lee-ward; and, to complete our dismay, before we could weigh the anchor, the main-sail split almost from top to bottom. After considerable exertion, however, we at last succeeded in getting up our anchor.

18th February—it was about one in the morning, when we succeeded in weighing anchor; and a favorable breeze from the land springing up at the time, we were at once relieved from our apprehensions. The heaving up of our anchor cost us, however, two hours of unremitting exertion; but as our labour and anxiety chiefly arose from our tindal's practice of

anchoring with all sail standing, we determined to submit to it no more; and went quietly to sleep. At day-light, to our unspeakable satisfaction, we perceived the Oyster rocks three or four miles astern; and at sun-rise we were nearly abreast of the border Portuguese district of Cancon, north of the once neat little fort of Sewiser: one of our consorts close in shore of us. As it fell calm about eight o'clock, we dropped anchor, and lowered the main-sail for repair. At ten we weighed again, and stood to sea; but finding ourselves manifestly drifting to the southward, we wore at eleven, and stood for the land, and came to anchor again at two in the afternoon.

As our stock was every day rapidly diminishing; and as I conceived myself sufficiently acquainted with the outline of the coast from my former residence on the spot, we were induced to send our small boat on shore, in charge of a native christian non-commissioned officer, in order to procure poultry, and any other article of supply that might serve to replenish our store. At sun-set we fired our swivel gun as a signal for the return of the boat. Seven—eight—nine—and even ten, o'clock passed, however, without a symptom of our boat. We began, therefore, to experience considerable pain and regret, at what might be considered as an act of indiscretion, if not folly, in attempting any communication with the land, under circumstances of so much doubt and uncertainty. But the regret was the more painful on my part, because the attempt had been made on the strength alone of my assurances.

My friend's apprehensions lest the land of which we were abreast should, after all, prove the Bahauder's, were now painfully excited; and my own feelings were not to be envied; for although I entertained a tolerable conviction that we were, almost to a certainty, off the Portuguese district above mentioned, still the lapse of five years might have had some effect in awakening a doubt of its identity. At

eleven o'clock, however, to our infinite satisfaction, a toney, or canoe, came along side, with the naik (or corporal) and our domestic safe on board.

The Portuguese, for so they happily proved to have been, out of their punctilious regard to etiquette, had treated our agents with a march of ten miles inland, to the head quarters of their Commandant; and all the supply we procured could not compensate, in any degree, for the anxiety and suspense of so many hours duration. About mid-night the tindal also returned on board; having waited all this time in a pattemar, off the surf, in order to bring away our people. So that during the last four-and-twenty hours we seem to have experienced a competent share of the minor miseries of human life.

19th February—we got up our anchor about the usual hour of one in the morning; and by break of day, with the aid of a gentle breeze from the land, we had made about four miles to the northward; and thus, at the rate of a mile an hour, we calculated that, we might possibly yet reach our destination, by the setting in of the rainy season. Close under Cape Ramus we were compelled to put about and stand to sea; after having been tantalized the whole forenoon with the delusive prospect of weathering the Cape. To add to our mortification, we could perceive one of our consorts passing round with apparent facility. However, on comparing our morning's work with that of the three preceding days, we might have discovered that there was no very great cause for repining. In the hollow of the neck of land which connects the Cape with the continent, and to all appearance badly situated, we observed the Portuguese fort of Rachole.

After three unavailing attempts to weather Cape Ramus, we were compelled to anchor, still about three miles to the southward of it, thus excite afresh our impatience at the sluggishness of our boat and not less at her apparent mismanagement.

eleven at night, having got up our anchor, we very cleverly bungled the vessel into the wind; and when in about half an hour we had brought her round, it suddenly fell calm.

20th February—at sun-rise we had not regained the spot we first fetched yesterday morning, under Rachole; and our disappointment was not diminished on finding that the 8th batt. boat, which we had seen that morning off the Oyster rocks in Carwar bay, had overtaken us. It becoming also calm at seven o'clock, and the batella drifting bodily to the southward, we let go our anchor. At nine, however, a light but favourable breeze setting in, we weighed; and by eleven o'clock, we at last succeeded in getting to windward of Cape Ramus. We were now within sight of St. George's Island: but from dear bought experience, we could indulge but little hopes of rounding it that night; and it was at this time that we became reconciled to the unpleasant alternative of putting into Goa. At sun-set we anchored about five miles to the southward of the opening between the island of St. George and Marmagon-Salsette; and about three miles off the main. At ten o'clock at night we weighed anchor with a fresh breeze from the land; but, as if fortune were determined to baffle us to the last, the wind chopped round so much to the northward before we could gain the offing of St. George, and increased so much in violence, that we were compelled to stand to sea, with no other view than that of awaiting the changes which the night might produce.

21st. February—at four in the morning, the wind continuing foul, my fellow passenger, and senior in command, was in debate with the tindal: and, as is too frequently the case on occasions of difficulty, counsels were rather fluctuating. At day-light St. George's Island bore north-east, distant about fifteen miles. In preference to the obnoxious alternative of putting into Goa, it was now determined, with

five butts of water only on board, to proceed on our voyage. At the hour of noon, as we were in the act of wearing, the end of our main-yard snapped in two: however, having lowered it to the deck, we bent another, and again made sail. Notwithstanding our gallant resolution in the morning, it was not quite clear, that we might not yet find ourselves at the expiration of a few hours, under the lee of the Aguada. According to conjecture, so it happened; for about nine o'clock at night, in spite of our exertions, we came to anchor under the monastery point, immediately opposite the Aguada, or fortified watering place, at the entrance of the river of Goa.

On Sunday, the 22nd of February, about sun-rise, we sent the boat on shore to bespeak a supply of water, and bring off such articles of refreshment as were procurable. We were now made acquainted with the unsuspected peril from which we had just escaped; it being announced to us, that it was next to a miracle we had not been cast away on that point, under the monastery, where we then lay, unconscious of all danger. We therefore weighed anchor at seven o'clock, in order to get more into proximity with the Aguada, under which we anchored again at two in the afternoon. Here we found the company's cruiser, the Greyhound, Capt. Bond; with orders to take us under convoy, together with the several other transport boats of the Tillecherry brigade; most of which we also found here at anchor.

In the course of the same afternoon we took boat, and proceeded to Panjim, the lower town, so called; and situated on the opposite, or south, side of this very beautiful river, about a mile, or mile and a half higher up then the Aguada. And here we joined a number of our brother officers, who had taken up their quarters at what was called "the hotel."

During our short stay on shore, we did not fail to visit, in a transitory way, the almost deserted old city of Goa; which is beautifully situated on an elevated

spot, at the head of a branch of the river, coming from the southward; and a mile or two higher up than the straggling lower town; which is in fact the landing place to it. At this period, and long before, the old city had been, in a great measure, abandoned, in consequence of its supposed unhealthy situation. It still contained many handsome structures, both public and private; but what we were most desirous of seeing, was the bronze monument of St. Francis Xavier, in the elegant church in front of the steps of the palace of the viceroy. It is well known to have been fabricated at Rome, and does not disgrace the skill of an Italian artist. The reliefs, in particular, are extremely bold, and well executed; strikingly representing the character of the natives, employed in stoning the saint. We examined it, however, under great disadvantage, through defect of light in that part of the church in which it stands. The west end of the church, opposite the palace, is also reckoned very handsome; and said to be a copy of one of those in the metropolis of catholic Europe.

And here, at the risk of a frown from my brother grey-beards, I am compelled by the dictates of truth to state, that we availed ourselves of an opportunity to sail up the main branch of this delightful river, for several miles, in order to look in at a village, represented to us as being the principal abode of the Goa dancing girls. But as they were absent on some business of their profession, we returned in rather a disappointed mood. We all of us recollected, for we were accompanied by several of our brother officers, the story told of the dancing girl, who, in some peculiar difficulty, lent to one of the viceroys, I believe it was Alphonso Albuquerque, a large sum of money, on a simple pledge of one of his mustachios. Our visit had, however, no sordid or licentious motive; being one of mere curiosity, to draw a comparison between those damsels de ballet, and those of their class to the southward. We returned

highly delighted with the beautiful and splendid scenery on the river; which amply compensated for any disappointment to which we might have been exposed.

On the 24th February, having remained two whole days at Goa, we returned about ten in the forenoon on board our batella; and immediately got under weigh, by signal from the Greyhound. The convoy consisted of about fifteen batellas and shebaurs; having on board the greater part of the three batts. from Malabar. About noon it was our mortification to find that we had fallen astern of the convoy, which, however, wore round with us until five in the afternoon; at which hour we came to anchor, some miles to leeward of the flotilla, and abreast of Chopra, the fort upon a hill seven or eight miles north of the Aguada. It was in appearance an European work; but, as we thought, too nearly commanded by a higher hill to the northward.

On the 25th of February, we weighed anchor between twelve and one in the morning, endeavouring to get up with our consorts. At day-light we perceived the convoy some three miles within shore of us. A Malawan boat passed us and showed her colours. At half-after nine the Greyhound bore down and spoke to us, and sent her boat on board, with an offer to receive forty of our people; observing that we made more lee, than head-way. The Greyhound then, very considerately, took us in tow. In acquiescence with the offer so liberally made, a havaldaur, naik, and fourteen sepoys of my company, the second grenadiers, were transferred to the Greyhound. At ten in the forenoon, my friend Boden and myself also went on board. At five in the afternoon the cruiser cast off the tow rope, and between six and seven o'clock we were compelled to anchor, about six miles to the southward of the Vingorla rocks. But the land wind coming off at ten that night, we weighed, and made sail.

Thursday, 26th February—we remained on board the Greyhound, and at noon we were abreast of the Vingorlas. Our batella appeared to keep to windward better than formerly: two of the convoy greatly astern. At nine in the evening, anchored about three miles to the northward of the Vingorlas; some of them, however, still to windward.

27th February—the wind at N. and N.E. Weighed anchor at sun-rise, and made sail to fetch our batella. At seven o'clock we came up, and returned on board of her. The Greyhound bore away to take the two stern-most boats in tow. Between twelve and one in the afternoon, as was our general practice, we wore and stood for the land; the rest of the convoy doing the same. At four o'clock the Vingorla rocks were still in sight to the southward. At seven in the evening we anchored, by signal from the Greyhound, about fifteen miles to the northward of these rocks. At this time we were abreast of the low fortified island, supposed to have been Malawan. Rairee, another piratical port, also lies in this vicinity.

28th February—the wind northerly; fresh and foul; nevertheless, we weighed at sun-rise: the Greyhound and convoy under weigh astern. Observed two Mahratta, or more probably, Malawan, cruisers within shore of us. The convoy, as usual, got ahead before eight in the morning. We wore at noon, and at sun-set, overtaking the Greyhound, we again went on board. Came to anchor about eight o'clock, and at ten that night returned to our bark.

Sunday, the 1st March—we got up our anchor between one and two in the morning; the Greyhound and convoy, far in-shore at day dawn; and our batella, as seems to have been our destiny, as far to leeward. Our unhappy tindal was not a little harrassed by our tiresome importunities to make him keep his luff. Between twelve and one in the afternoon, the Greyhound came along-side, and we again went on board; our poor sluggard being again taken

in tow. At sun-set, slipped the tow rope; some slight symptoms of a southerly wind coming on at the moment, but still variable. At ten at night it became, however, stark calm, and we returned to our batella; and kept under weigh the whole of the night, although, for the greater part, still calm.

On the 2nd of March, at day-light, we found ourselves about six miles off the land, the Greyhound considerably astern. At seven in the morning, to our general satisfaction, we were taken a-back by a breeze nearly N.E.; so that having shifted our mainsail, we stood a fair course N.W. pretty large. At this time we observed five strange boats or gallivats in with the land. At nine o'clock one of the large shebaurs—the powerful undecked boats so called—offering us a friendly tow, we gladly acceded; and by her assistance, kept well to windward during the whole of the day. Wore ship at noon; and a little before sun-set anchored about a mile and a half to the southward of Gheriah; where we observed the Mahratta fleet lying at anchor. We again visited the Greyhound, attracted by Capt. Bond's friendly attention; but returned to our batella by ten the same night.

On the 3rd March—we weighed anchor about tw in the morning; and at four our friendly shebaur too us again in tow, according to promise. At noon w wore round, and made a tolerable course until fo o'clock; when a north-wester coming on, and blo ing pretty fresh, we were compelled, to our gr regret, to cast off the tow rope, and soon fell plorably to leeward. About seven in the even the shebaur hailed us, to beware of the rocks a ahead; and to our dismay we immediately covered the breakers, at scarcely the distance o a mile in our front; although, not twenty mi before, we had considered that there was the of at least six miles between us and any land. these circumstances, and amidst noise and con

we came to an anchor, all standing. And well it was no worse; for had it not been for the friendly caution from the shebaur, we should, in all probability, have run smack on shore; and from the frowning, and inhospitable aspect of the coast, there seems to have been little doubt that in a few minutes our batella would have been lodged, if not dashed to pieces, among those horrible rocks. Passed a harrassing night from the incessant rolling of the vessel.

On the 4th of March—at day-light, being about two miles to the southward of a creek or inlet, by our tindal called Durrum Kaury, we weighed anchor; and in shifting the yard, managed to split our main-sail. The Greyhound was at this time about nine miles astern, and her convoy much dispersed. The wind was tormentingly adverse; which compelled us to stand to sea, far to the westward of our course. At nine o'clock the wind freshened in such a degree, that we became seriously alarmed for the fate of our tattered main-sail. On consultation with our friendly consort, the shebaur, it was determined to bear up for any anchorage that might present itself, to enable us to repair the sail; and the smaller shebaur which had kept us company from the beginning, engaging to lead the way to some convenient cove, we followed; and at eleven o'clock, discovering one to our wish, we entered and came to an anchor close within the bight. On this occasion, urged by curiosity, I made an attempt to land in the small pinnace of our batella; but the surf ran so high in consequence of the boisterous state of the weather and the shore appeared so rocky and inaccessable, on either side, that I considered it advisable to return on board, without persisting in my attempt. Several of the convoy followed our example, and anchored in the cove; which, in honour of our batella, we called "Ruparel Bay." Such, at the same time, was the menacing aspect of the weather, that the Mahratta gallivats, or cruisers, which were

still in sight off Gheriah, changed their station, and got under cover of the land. At five in the afternoon, the Greyhound also, with the remainder of the convoy, came in, and anchored in our cove.

On the 5th of March—about sun-rise, we weighed anchor by signal from the Greyhound. In making sail out of the cove, we ran on board of Lieut. Brady's boat; but, more fortunate than we deserved for our clumsiness, without sustaining any injury, on either side. At seven o'clock we came under the stern of the Greyhound, which most accommodatingly took us again in tow. Several Mahratta gallivats were observed cruising in the offing. At ten o'clock the breeze freshening to a gale, we reefed our main-sail; but at noon, the wind and swell abating, we went about. At one in the afternoon the Greyhound cast off our tow rope, and bore down to the assistance of Lieut. Brady's batella, which appeared to have sprung her main-mast. At seven in the evening we came to an anchor, about three miles to the southward of Retnagheriah; having, upon the whole, accomplished a far better day's work, than in the morning we had any reason to expect.

The 6th of March—we weighed anchor at four in the morning; but the weather falling dead calm, we immediately anchored again, all standing. A breeze, however, springing up at day-light, we got under weigh for renewed exertion; the Greyhound, with part of the convoy, at this time about three miles astern; and Cape Dobbs twice as far ahead. At seven o'clock our old friend, the shebaur, took us once more in tow. There was, however, little or no wind, and we were refractorily caballing to cut the Commodore. About noon we wore, rather prematurely; for, instead of weathering Cape Dobbs, we had flattered ourselves we should be enabled to do, we only fetched off Retnagheriah; under which we were compelled to anchor at half-after five o'clock the Greyhound a mile or two to the southward.

On Saturday, the 7th of March, at three in the morning, our friendly shebaur hailed us to weigh anchor; which, having accomplished, after our usual tedious method, we again gave her our tow rope. Two guns from the Greyhound, followed by a single one, produced a suspicion, that Commodore Bond had taken umbrage at our presuming to weigh without his signal. At sun-rise, Retnagheriah bore due E. and Cape Dobbs N.E. by E. We wore at twelve o'clock, with a fine open sea breeze, which continued during the afternoon. We dropped our anchor between seven and eight in the evening; but a breeze springing up at ten o'clock, we were tempted to get under weigh again at midnight: however, the wind chopping round in our very teeth, we were again constrained to come to an anchor.

On Sunday, the 8th of March, we weighed our anchor before day-light; and at sun-rise, found ourselves about three miles to the southward of Zigurr river; with Cape Z about double that distance to the northward of us. At seven o'clock we became accomplices in the robbery of some poor villagers' fishing nets. A suspicious looking ketch and gallivat in the offing, occasioned some alarm to our consort shebaur; whose singular attentions we could now pretty clearly account for. She sought the protection of one hundred and forty bayonets, which she sometimes observed bristling over the gunnel of our batella. By eleven in the forenoon we had opened the entrance of Zigurr river.

Cape Z is easily distinguished by a white building on the summit, said to be a pagoda; but we could perceive no resemblance between this head land and the letter of the alphabet, of which it bears the name. The breeze had now become decidedly favourable; and we made for some time a successful north-westerly course; but finding that our progress was not quite so favourable as we expected, we put

about at four in the afternoon, and made a short board to sea. We stood for the land again, between five and six; and about seven o'clock, we anchored in the bay to the northward of Cape Z. The Greyhound and convoy were in sight, to the southward of the Cape, at sun-set.

On the 9th of March, we weighed anchor at three in the morning, and gave out our tow rope; which was now become a general practice. At day-light, the wind shifting round to the old adverse point, we were compelled to a W.S.W. course, and close hauled. The Greyhound and convoy in sight, astern. At noon we wore, and between six and seven in the evening came to anchor in a bay between Gopalgurr and Severndroog, about five miles to the southward of the latter place. The wind being fresh we were greatly harrassed during the night, by the troublesome tumbling swell. About ten o'clock a fleet of boats passed to the southward.

Tuesday, the 10th March, a little before sun-rise, we were induced to get up anchor; but it shortly falling calm, we found it expedient to drop it again, as did also our friendly consort. At this time the Greyhound and her convoy were hull down to the southward. At eight in the forenoon we again weighed, and at ten were taken in tow by the shebaur. At this stage I find it observed, that we had not yet arrived within the influence of the tides; there being no road, or estuary, of sufficient magnitude between this and Goa.

The wind now sprung up, but not having gained sufficient offing, we were constrained to stand to sea—W.S.W. at the same time drifting pretty much to the southward. Our prospects this day were therefore none of the brightest. To try our fortune, however on the other tack, we wore ship, and stood for the land between eleven and twelve o'clock; but finding ourselves drifting to the southward still more than we apprehended, we let go our anchor through

dire necessity, at two in the afternoon: being close in shore, at least three miles to the southward of our last anchoring ground. Although the murmur of discontent could little avail to amend our prospects, or accelerate our progress, patience was fast wearing out; and, on referring to my diary, I regret to observe something of a sarcastic tendency on my part, because my imperturable, and kind-hearted friend, contrived to take his usual repose in the midst of all this turmoil and confusion of the elements. The wind continued in the same adverse quarter during the night. On the 11th of March, up came the anchor about four in the morning; with no other object or hope but that of gaining an offing:—five—six—and seven o'clock, vexatiously becalmed; and not the less mortified on observing the boats to sea-ward with a full and flowing sheet. At eight o'clock, however, to our infinite gratification, the breeze reached us. In a moment all our troubles were forgotten; the wind being at south-west, bearing us delightfully along, while our friendly shebaur continued at the same time to tug us cheerily ahead. At half-after eight we were abreast of Sevendroog, and at noon Victoria, or Bankoot, lay on our starboard quarter. The same delectable breeze continued until four in the afternoon; when gradually dying away, as if reluctant to leave us, it totally ceased a little after sun-set. The Greyhound and her convoy at this period astern and scarcely visible. We were at last arrived within the influence of the tides; for we continued to drive in shore with the current until nine at night, when we anchored, close in with Jezzeirah—by our mariners commonly called Jinjerah. This, it may be observed, was one of the last of the possessions retained by the Siddees; a colony of Abysinians, of whom some long flourished, with considerable renown, in the Dekkan.

The 12th of March, we got under weigh a little before sun-rise; and, as was now become our custom,

gave out tow-rope to our friendly shebaur. There was, however, little or no wind; while a heavy swell bore hard against us from the north-west. The castle of Choul, another memorial of departed Portuguese dominion, was in sight; bearing N.N.E. distant about six miles. The Greyhound and convoy were now off Dundarajepour. About eight in the morning, to our grief and disappointment, the breeze freshened from the adverse quarter, with a greatly increasing swell. About eleven o'clock we wore; and about an hour afterwards, in spite of wind and swell, came to an anchor immediately off Choul.

Yesterday's encouraging progress served to make us doubly sensible of our present irksome situation: —the wind, and that a tickler, right in our teeth, and our destined port almost within view. In the afternoon observed the Greyhound and part of her convoy at anchor, something to the southward of Jinjerah. At sun-set the wind had abated in some degree; and coming round to the westward about eight in the evening, we were tempted once more to trust to the fickle element; and, for our punishment, we were compelled about eleven o'clock, to drop our anchor far out to sea; and during the night we drove more than a mile to the southward. (What would we not then have given for a steamer?)

On the 13th of March, the wind and swell continued as sinister as ever; and the firmament threatened much worse. We weighed our anchor, notwithstanding, on a signal, or what we conceived to have been a signal, from the shebaur. At eight o'clock the wind having freshened considerably, we carried away our main-sheet, which it became immediately necessary to replace or repair, as well as we were able. Our tindal generally laid the blame of his wretched out-fit upon his dunnie, or owner. A little after nine o'clock the shebaur hailed us to put about; the Greyhound and convoy at this time working to sea, about nine miles to the

southward. In about half an hour, finding we could do no better, we wore for the land, and dropped our anchor once more off the castle or fort of Choul; two or three miles perhaps, to windward of our former station; the town being now open to us. The islands of Hunnary and Kunnary, off the harbour of Bombay, were now in sight to the northward.

At three in the afternoon we observed a vessel at anchor off Jinjerah, which we conjectured to be the Greyhound; both wind and swell were at this moment so perversely baffling and contrary, that repose was out of the question. The attempt to reason us into patience would have availed but little; as that virtue was rapidly yielding to hope deferred. To our illiberal tindal it appeared to afford manifest gratification, that the shebaur, to the attention of which we were so deeply indebted, should have dragged her anchor to a considerable distance; although she managed to bring up at last.

I find in my journal, many of the places on this coast of Malabar and Canara, described, as well as the circumstances under which we visited or passed them, would permit: with occasional speculations on their military position and strength. Such places were then but little known to us; and such speculations might, under some circumstances, have been useful, both to myself and others. But subsequent events have rendered us so well acquainted with all places on these, and the other coasts of the peninsula (as it is called) of India, that I deem it expedient to abridge very considerably, such descriptions and speculations.

Soon after sun-set the wind and swell became considerably abated; and a delusive breeze coming from N. by E. at half-after ten at night, we were induced to heave up our anchor; with what success will soon be seen.

On the 14th of March, at half-past one in the

morning, as was too truly foreseen, we were compelled to bring too again; awaiting the return of the tide, and a more propitious gale. At eight o'clock we once more ventured to weigh anchor, with hopes certainly, not very sanguine; the wind continuing in the old and adverse quarter, right in our teeth. It did not at all contribute to our comfort or encouragement, to observe the Greyhound, still endeavouring to work to windward, no further north than Jinjerah. At half-after ten we put about; the wind still fresh, but the horizon clearing up. In about half an hour the shebaur took us in tow, and kept us well to windward; thus affording reason to think that had this been done from the early part of the night, we might at this hour have been safe moored in Bombay harbour. The success of our day's work however, far surpassed the speculations of the morning; for between two and three in the afternoon, we came to an anchor about three miles south of Hunnary, and a little to the northward of Coolabah; a port at that time in the possession of one of the family of Angriah. The Greyhound and her convoy were now at anchor between Choul and Jinjerah. Several gallivats and other country craft were at anchor in shore, to the southward of Coolabah.

At ten at night our anchor was again a-weigh; and by one in the morning of the following day, we brought too, within a mile of the small rocky island of Kunnary; so admirably calculated for the site of a light-house, that I have frequently felt surprised that it was never purchased for that humane and noble purpose.*

On Sunday, the 15th of March, 1789, having awaited the turn of the tide until half-after eight in

* This point has been fully considered by the local authorities, since Kunnary came into the possession of the English: and it has not been found advisable to have a light-house on that island.—Ed.

the morning, we weighed our anchor for the last time; with every prospect that our toil and anxiety were about to be brought to a termination; Bombay, with its massive fortifications, being now well in view. Thanks to an all-governing Providence, our hopes did not end in disappointment. At half-past four in the afternoon, we once more anchored in safety in the noble harbour:—when the past appeared but a dream of forty days' duration.

CHAPTER IX.

RELINQUISHING, with reluctance, the aid of recorded matter, it is not without difficulty that I now resume the task of restoring, from imperfect memory, those traces of images long past; which the vicissitudes of a chequered life had almost obliterated.

However, having landed our detachment of the ninth batt. and paraded them under the old tamarind-tree on Bombay green (so called I suppose like "lucus a non lucendo," because it seldom or never exhibits that colour so refreshing to the eye) we finally conducted them to their barracks on the esplanade. I then sought my staid and excellent friend, William Morris: and with him agreed to renew, as long as circumstances would admit, that confraternal plan of living together, which had hitherto for so many years, contributed so largely to our mutual comfort. For this purpose, we rented a well built house, about half-way between the church and bazaar gates; at the termination of the back lane opening upon the ramparts, which, from the occupation of our opposite neighbours ,we called "Shoe-maker Lane." At the very next door resided my brave and lamented friend, Lieut. Hugh Ross.

For the two months which preceded the rainy season, our attention was chiefly directed to the often repeated drudgery of drill; and the dress and the decorations of our batt. on the new system; which was now approaching to something like uniformity. The device of our batt. the new ninth, was a crescent; that of the seventh, a thunderbolt; and that of the eighth, an arrow.

It was during the rains of 1789, that I first devoted my serious attention to the study of Persian; and

this, more immediately, at the earnest recommendation of my friend Ross. At first, like most other pursuits that require application, I found the undertaking rather wearisome; but as, during the rainy season, we were of necessity rather closely confined within doors, I contrived, by perpetually writing them down, to make myself master of the character, and its variegated combinations; so as to be at last competent to avail myself of the aid of my moonshy, in travelling through the epistolary compositions of the Inshaey Hurkurrun; and that more difficult, but excellent work, the Gulistaun of Sheikh Saady; the much, and deservedly, admired moralist of Shirauz.

While I am on the subject, I cannot too earnestly recommend to beginners in this most useful and interesting study, after translating a passage into English, to make it their constant practise to translate it immediately back again into the original; and this repeatedly, until they make the one entirely correspond with the other. This is the best method of rendering the idiomatic peculiarities familiar; and the student will find it most useful; when, in the practical discharge of some confidential public duty, he be called upon to conduct a correspondence, which requires not only purity of idiom, but strict secrecy; in default of which, great inconvenience must ever ensue from the necessity of employing the medium of a native moonshy; who may not always be proof against the efforts of corruption.

I have never been able to account satisfactorily, why the Gulistaun is always the earliest book placed in the hands of the Persian student. It may be that it furnishes an opportunity of becoming, in some degree, acquainted with the intricacies of the primitive language of the Arabians. But I should rather have thought that the enlightened Abul Fazzel's History of Akbar; or more especially Ferishtah's History of the Dekkan, would have better served, not only as guides to the language, but an immediate, and most

accurate, introduction to the annals of the country, in which the English student is probably destined to pass the brightest period of life.

I would, lastly, urge upon the student, the incalculable advantage to be derived from an unintermitting diligence for the first six months, in rendering himself fully master of the rudiments; as, through the foundation thus timely laid, he will experience neither irksomeness nor difficulty in his pursuit. But independently of professional success, which is almost sure to follow, he will have secured for himself, as I have done, a source of enjoyments, of which neither time nor accident can deprive him.

Having devoted the greater part of "the rains," almost exclusively, to the attainment of an object, which had assuredly, considerable influence upon my destiny, we resumed, at their termination, the endless task of drilling; preparatory to what was considered probable, a general review of the troops at the Presidency.

Of the verdant and beautiful months which immediately succeed to the rainy season, particularly in this, our favourite island, the remembrance will readily occur to any one, whom the chances of life may have ever brought to reside upon it. For although the morbid exhalation from the steaming rice grounds, may sometimes be productive of bilious complaints, the healthful air, and picturesque, and varied scenery, of Malabar hill, and its celebrated point, if they do not amply compensate for this temporary evil, certainly do form a most agreeable contrast. Of many a convivial party to the point, and the secluded shades and pagodas round the noble tank on the northern slope of the hill, I still bear in mind the most pleasing impressions; blended with tints of melancholy, when I reflect that most of those associates who shared with me in those delightful recreations, are long since become denizens of another and better world.

At Seu, or Sion, on the opposite or eastern extremity of the island, and at the distance of nine or ten miles, we possessed another resort for recreation; as the miniature downs, and park-like scenery through which we passed to the eastward of the Governor's country residence, Parell, brought to mind, in a lively degree, the woodland beauties of "the land in the ocean." These excursions were, however, not wholly devoted to objects of social enjoyment. They were frequently directed to the useful purposes of professional improvement. Many a day was our battalion marched in either direction, putting in practice that variety of formation and movement, in attack and defence, likely to be required on actual service in the field; and had our Commandant, the late Col. Riddell, of Cheltenham, been a greater favourite, or a more popular commander, the practice doubtless would have been generally imitated. Of its utility there can be no question, inasmuch as it furnishes a ten-fold better course of exemplifying the circumstances of actual warfare, than the most elaborate manœuvring of a common parade.

Towards the conclusion of the year 1789, as had been expected, the different corps then at the Presidency, including his Majesty's seventy-fifth and seventy-seventh regiments, and the seventh, eighth, and ninth batts. of native infantry, were reviewed on the esplanade, by Gen. Meadows, the then governor and Commander-in-Chief. The only movement on a large scale, after marching round, was, from a line extending from fort George, to the old burying ground; breaking into a column of march, of subdivisions from the right, and leading in the direction of the Apollo gate; and by a simple wheel backwards to the left, exhibiting a handsome line, fronting the fort, and extending from a spot nearly opposite to the Apollo gate, all the way to the sepoy barracks. This line presented a very respectable array, of about three thousand well disciplined soldiers, European and native.

It was during the cold season, between the months of November and February, that I began to contemplate with regret, the loss I should sustain, in being bereaved of the society of my staid, and truly affectionate friend, Morris. He had been attacked by a painful complaint; and in consequence, was constrained to submit to a dangerous surgical operation, the effect of which produced upon his constitution so severe a shock, that he never thoroughly recovered. Under these circumstances, it was recommended that he should avail himself of a short respite from duty, to inhale the healthful sea breezes at Malabar point; where he then took up his abode in the Governor's occasional retreat. Here, during many visits to my sick friend, I had ample opportunity to contemplate the elaborately sculptured ruins of the ancient Hindu temple near the point, which had been brutally demolished by the bigotry of Portuguese zeal. This was the prelude to our final separation; for sometime in the month of January, 1790, on intelligence of Tippoo's attack on the lines of Travancore, the seventh batt. to which he was attached, was one of those which proceeded under Gen. Hartley to the coast of Malabar. My poor friend accompanied his corps, and we never met again.

Subsequent to this, until the early part of the month of May, nothing seemed to have occurred to impress the memory; but things were hastening, with considerable rapidity, towards the disclosure of some of the most memorable events in the history of the British Empire in India.

About that period, a detachment having been ordered to hold itself in readiness, under the command of Capt. Little, to join a Mahratta force, destined to operate against the northern part of Tippoo Sultaun's dominions, and finding that our battalion the ninth, was not to form a part of this detachment; on the contrary, that a junior corps, the eleventh, had received the preference; I applied to be removed to Capt.

Little's battalion the 8th. and succeeded in my application. My friends Boden and Foster joined the eighth at the same time.

The detachment was composed of a company of European artillery, under Capt. now Col. Thompson, with Lieuts. West and Ireland; and of the eighth and eleventh, batts. of native infantry, each completed to eight hundred rank and file; with six six-pounder field pieces: constituting, altogether, a force of about 1700 strong. It cannot fail to be remarked, that on this, and many other occasions, the functions of a Brigadier were discharged by a Captain of infantry.

CHAPTER X.

On Monday, the 24th of May, 1790, with the fourth company of the eighth batt. I embarked from the pier-head, at Bombay, on board of a batella, named the Ruparel, which seems to have been a favorite appellation with this description of craft. Our expedition commenced with sorrow; for while the embarkation was going on, the tolling of the church bell, announced to us, the funeral of a very amiable and interesting young woman; the dearly beloved, and recently departed, wife of our gallant commander—Little—whose feelings at such a crisis, may be easier conceived than described.

At seven in the morning, we weighed anchor, by signal from the Wolf gallivat; and, in company with the other vessels which conveyed the detachment, stood to sea; and having cleared the entrance of the harbour, directed our course to the southward.

On the 25th of May, we were off Jinjerah; recently described as among the last of the remaining possessions of the Siddees; at one time of considerable note on the coast, and in the Dehkan. At twelve o'clock, the breeze became fresh and fair, and we passed fort Victoria in the course of the afternoon. A ship was observed proceeding to the northward; and at midnight we came to anchor by signal from the Wolf—our Commandant being on board that vessel.

On Wednesday, the 26th of May, at five in the morning, we weighed anchor; and soon after perceived that we had left Sevendroog to the northward. At nine o'clock we were off Gopalgurr, commonly called Dabul. At noon, or shortly afterwards, the breeze continuing auspiciously favourable, we

rounded Cape Z; and about two in the afternoon we entered Jygurr, or Zygurr, river, anchoring abreast of the fort. At this moment a boat passed to the shore from the Wolf; and soon returning on board, the signal was made for proceeding up the river. We now received a pilot on board, weighed anchor, and crossed the bar, about five o'clock—the channel lying close to the south bank. Both banks of the river wild, hilly and inhospitable, in appearance; but beautifully wooded to the water's edge. Winding in its course to right and left, every few hundred yards, and as smooth and transparent as a mirror, the river itself was as beautiful as it was romantic; and this, with the gilding of hope fresh upon our minds, rendered our inland voyage indescribably delightful. About nine o'clock, the tide having turned, we came to an anchor; by the pilot's account about four kutcha, or short, kosse, or about five miles from the entrance of the river. We had observed a few solitary hovels, in the recesses on either side.

On the 27th of May, we weighed at day-light; and gliding upwards with the tide, the surface of the river continued unruffled and transparent as crystal; while the alternate receding and overlopping of the wooded banks, exhibited the appearance of a chain of lakes. Nothing could be more enchanting than the varied scenery which we surveyed during this short passage. The banks as we advanced upwards, began to exhibit marks of cultivation, as they lost their mountainous character, and became more level.

We anchored at noon; and the rest of the boats gradually arriving, did the same. We now landed, and proceeding on board the Wolf, we there found that Capt. Little had just returned from an interview with some of the native authorities up the river; and we received orders to disembark immediately, on the south side. Our landing appears to have been attended with some difficulty which is not explained. About five in the afternoon, Lieut. Ross, our brigade-

major, and myself, with the disembarked men of the eighth batt. marched after Lieut. Boden, who had proceeded with his division to the ground marked out for our halting place. During our short march, we experienced a violent thunder storm, with heavy rain; and reached our ground at dusk in the evening, completely drenched. We found our friend Boden with his division, attended by a Brahmin, said to have been the Killadaur, or military governor of Retnagheriah. Capt. Mc Donald's batt. the eleventh, dropped in by degrees in our rear. We were accommodated in a set of chuppers, pendals, or leaf-roofed huts; formed for our reception, of the green-leafed branches of trees, which the neighbouring woods furnished in abundance. Our temporary cantonment had its rear in a bend of the river; with our right flank towards the gauht, stated to be at the distance of two days' march to the south-east.

On the 28th May, the guns and stores were gradually coming in; and we continued stationary on our ground, which we now understood to be near a village called Sungmiser, or Sungumiswara, the "confluence of Iswara." It was here that I first pitched my raouty, a description of tent, with dwarf walls, and no fly. At ten o'clock at night, Lieut. Boden with his company was sent forward to ascend the Ambah gauht, in order to protect the ammunition and stores, which proceeded at the same time. The guns and tumbrels were all brought up during the day and night.

On Sunday, the 30th of May, still stationary: sending off stores and provisions. The guns and tumbrels moved forwards at ten o'clock at night, during which we had much lightning and some rain.

On the 31st of May, we continued on our ground, expecting however to march on the morrow; the stores and other equipments having now been all sent forward. We had thunder and rain, and every symptom of an approaching monsoon, during the

former part of the night. Capt. Thompson marched, notwithstanding, with the artillery.

On the 1st of June, the morning was fair and pleasant. At six o'clock, Lieut. Heath marched with part of the eleventh battalion.

On the 2nd of June, having remained on the same ground from the 27th May, the detachment, to our infinite delight, marched at two in the morning; being heartily tired of our halt at Sungumiswara, to which our presence has given no small celebrity. The greater part of the night had proved rainy; and for the first five miles, our march led over rough and difficult ground; the road not being practicable for artillery without great exertion. About day-light, however, having ascended a steep pitch, and continuing our march, our prospects became much more agreeable; the road leading over an elevated and extensive plain, pleasingly interspersed with clumps of trees, in different directions. At half-past six in the afternoon, having passed through the large village of Dewroo, we reached our ground in front of the village at seven o'clock. We found our guns and other equipments at this place. Our day's march for the greater part, to S.E.; and our present ground proved indeed a paradise, in comparison with that which we had left; where, I regret to observe, I had lost four sepoys of my company, by desertion.

On the 3rd of June, at three in the morning, we marched for the gauht; and at half-after six we halted at a village called Sakkerpahr, in order to give the men a short rest. Thus far the road was exceedingly rugged, and full of obstacles. We continued our march at eight; and at nine, we reached the small hamlet, at the foot of the Ambah gauht, were we halted until four in the afternoon, when we resumed our march. Soon after five o'clock, we commenced our actual ascent of the gauht, the steepest, and most fatiguing for a continuance, of any I had yet seen. At half-after six, we gained the

summit; having thus been about an hour and half in our ascent. At seven in the evening we halted for the night; about a mile within, or to the eastward of, the gaubt: both men and officers almost exhausted from the fatigue of the day's march. The distance, however, as stated by the inhabitants, was not more than seven kosse, or about fourteen miles. Our baggage having failed to come up with us, we passed a dreary and comfortless night: the only one of our followers that joined us at this crisis of privation, being an athletic bearer of my own; carrying on his shoulder a ponderous case of liquor, and other articles of refreshment; which furnished a most seasonable relief to all present, of both battalions.

On the 4th of June, at half-after five in the morning, we continued our march; and soon after seven halted at Carla, a small village, where we found Boden with his company. The country through which we had now passed was so much improved for the better, as to be sufficiently agreeable. Here we first became apprized that Prusram Bhow, or, as he styled himself, Prusram Ramchunder, with an army of fifty thousand men, awaited our arrival and co-operation, at his capital of Taujegaum, the "crown village;" a town stated to be at the distance from us of five-and-twenty kosse, or about fifty English miles.

On the 5th of June, a little before three in the morning, we resumed our march; the direction which was about E.S.E. and about ten minutes af six we reached Curwa, an insignificant village, ab a kosse short of Melkapour; which appeared to considerable town protected by a fort, within of our camp. The morning proved rainy, an considered that the monsoon was now serious in; from which it would appear that we wer deavouring to make our escape. The aspect country was by no means unpleasing; the soi apparently rich and fertile. The morning's occupied about three hours; distance, by th

accounts, three kosse, or about six miles. At this period we were anxiously expecting the arrival of our guns and heavy stores; receiving no assistance whatever (contrary to stipulation) from Ambajee, or Amrut Row, the Rajah, or ruling chief, of this district. In the afternoon I ventured to view what appeared so imposing in the fort of Melkapour; which, on inspection, dwindled into insignificance; being in appearance nothing more than a paltry gurry, or clay-walled castle, without artillery of any description. There were a few horse piqueted under the walls. The town stands on the western side, and appeared of considerable magnitude.

Dr. Thomas Cruso, appointed principal surgeon to the detachment, joined us from Poonah during the night; which for the greater part proved very rainy. The Doctor was a man of the most amiable private character; an honour to his profession, and not less distinguished for his general humanity, of which we were destined to experience many a melancholy proof. The lamentable accounts which we at this time received of the dismantled state of our baggage in the rear, were most discouraging; none of the guns having yet been brought above the gauht.

On Sunday, the 6th of June, some time before daylight, Lieut. Boden, with his company, proceeded in advance. In the course of the afternoon, some camels arrived from Poonah; at the same time, a havaldaur belonging to the Resident's guard of that metropolis, came in, and reported that a party of sepoys, with which he was escorting a convey of bullocks for the detachment, had been drawn into an affray with some villagers, which had terminated in bloodshed; and that in consequence, the party, about twenty in number, had been made prisoners by the garrison of some neighbouring fort, and the bullocks dispersed. At this time, Capt. Little also received, from some of the native chiefs in the neighbourhood, intimation, rather peremptory, that he was not to

pass the river, which in this quarter bounds the territory of Prusram Bhow, until he should have received further instructions. Even to this period none of the guns had reached the summit of the Ambah gauht. The weather was gloomy, and our prospects were not of the brightest hue; if indeed, we were destined to pass much time in this region, which I here find described, as bearing no slight resemblance to some of the mountain districts of my dear native Wales.

On the 7th of June, at five in the afternoon, I marched, with one company of the eighth, and two companies of the eleventh batt. to the advanced party, under Lieut. Boden. We arrived within musket shot of Boden's post, at half-past seven o'clock; but for reasons not yet understood, we were compelled to pass the night, most uncomfortably exposed on the brow of a naked hill; the weather being cold and rainy, and not even a shrub to screen us from the inclement blast. The distance from the village of Curwa, which we left this afternoon, was about three kosse, or six miles, in a direction E. by S.

On the 8th of June, in the morning, we were permitted to join the detached party under Boden; who accounted for the inhospitable interdict of last night, by the instructions which he had received, to keep our people from entering any of the villages. That near which we were now stationed, called Serroud, belonged to the Rajah of Collapour, and was protected by a paltry clay-built gurry, in ruins; an accompaniment almost universal throughout this country, as an asylum against the predatory hordes by which it was sometimes infested.

The river Warna, which runs close under Serroud, and was that which we were forbidden to pass until further instructions, as bounding the territory of the Peshwa, or head of the Mahratta confederacy, on this side, appeared rather deep, and from sixty to an hundred yards wide. Instead of improving,

as our hopes had led us to expect, on proceeding to the eastward, the country assumed an aspect more dreary and unsheltered than ever. The high table land, about eight miles to the southward of our present station, appeared crowned with embattled works of great magnitude; and outwardly of formidable strength. This was the hill fort of Pahrneira, or Pahrnala, belonging to the already mentioned Rajah of Collapour; or, perhaps, I should rather say, Kalipour, the "city of Kaly;" which latter place was said to lay about five kosse on the opposite, or S.W. side.

The Rajah here referred to, was described by the native inhabitants as an insolent and imperious despot. And at a subsequent period, I was further informed, that this same personage claimed to be a lineal descendant from an elder branch of the stock of Sevajee; and that, hence, he entitled himself Hinduput Padshah, or "paramount sovereign," of all India. At all events, he was notoriously the head of the piratical communities that once infested the coast of Malabar, from Goa to Bombay. From a Brahmin, who appeared on the opposite bank of the river, accompanied by fifteen or twenty horse, Lieut. Boden received a message importing that Prusram Bhow was most impatient for our arrival. It was also announced to us this day, that three of our field-pieces had at last reached the summit of the Ambah gauht; and that the remaining three were expected to be brought up in the course of the same day. At this moment we were admonished by message from Capt. Little, to be on our guard, as it was somehow or other suspected that we were not among friends; adverting probably to the vicinity of the "Hinduput Padshah," who was known to be in the interest of Tippoo.

On Wednesday, the 9th of June, stationary, at Serroud. The Warna appeared from hence to bend its course far beyond our view, in a direction nearly E.

In the course of the day a kaussid, or messenger, passed us with a letter from Prusram Bhow to our Commander.

On the 10th of June, our two companies of the eighth, and one of the eleventh, marched at seven in the morning: the guns and stores having at last been brought to the head of the gauht. We forded the Warna without difficulty; although when full it might be deep and impassable. It was then that we actually entered the territory of the Peshwa. At ten in the forenoon, we reached our halting ground, at the village of Munglah; having been completely drenched with rain during the march. This, however, had generally been the case, ever since we arrived in this country of desolation; for so, at this season, and in our exposed situation, it certainly appeared to us. The village, which, by courtesy, we might perhaps be allowed to call a town, had the crumbling remains of a clay-built wall; and belonged, as we were informed, to the Bhow; as, for brevity's sake, we shall, henceforward, take the liberty, with the natives, to call the powerful Mahratta Chief, whom we were proceeding to join. His name is also currently written and pronounced Purseram Bhow. It is here that I first discovered any direct or serious complaint of the inhospitable treatment, generally experienced from the inhabitants of the country; who could not be persuaded to supply us with even a spoonful of milk, in a district which could certainly be considered no otherwise than pastoral; and although they saw our poor sepoys, as well as their officers, exposed without shelter, to the rain and every inclemency of the weather, nothing could prevail upon them to relax in the smallest degree from their inexorable demand—that we were, in no case, to be permitted to enter their villages. I this, it is observed with some bitterness, be th boasted humanity of Brahminism, it comes in a ver questionable shape. Nevertheless, experienced

they were in the licentious excesses of their own undisciplined marauders, there might reasonably exist some jealousy as to what they were to expect from our sepoys; with whose chastened discipline they were little acquainted.

The distance marched from our last encampment at Serroud, was not more than two kosse and a half, or about five miles, in a direction nearly E.S.E.—time occupied, two hours and a half. The road leading over heavy black loam, was rendered more wearisome by the rain, which fell without intermission throughout the day.

On the 11th of June—stationary at Munglah, awaiting the guns and stores, of which no part had yet come up.

This day we obtained a more distinct view of the two formidable strong holds belonging to the Rajah of Collapour. Pahrnala, the one already noticed, and seen from Serroud, apparently impregnable from situation, seemed to be rendered unquestionably so, by a number of batteries which crested the precipitous outline in every direction. The other Pawungurr, or "castle of the winds," appeared to be equally strong and inaccessible. If any regard were due to the reports of the country people, the Rajah was by right, lord paramount of all the surrounding territories on every side. In short, that he acknowledged no superior; and might bid defiance to attack, or hostile aggression, from whatever quarter, while he held possession of those stupendous bulwarks of his power. I shall here observe, that at a period long subsequent, both those strong holds, notwithstanding, received, without resistance, a British force, under Col. Welsh, of the Madras establishment; in whose interesting "Reminisences" will be found an elaborate description of both places, as well as of many others in the country.

The day proved moderately fair, and yet none of the stores had arrived; while, from report from Lieut. Gorman, of the eleventh, at Serroud, the Warna had risen

considerably, in consequence of the incessant rain of the day preceding: so much so, as to have rendered the fording place impassable. The report, however, further stated that the river was then subsiding. At Munglah I found that two of my bearers had deserted, making altogether four that I had lost since our landing; which, considering the heavy labour to which they were exposed, under incessant rain in a miry soil, I could not be much surprised at. Information was now received that two of our field-pieces were at last arrived at Curwa; but when they could be brought to join us, was a matter of melancholy speculation; for, independently of the difficulty of passing the Warna, the road from Serroud to Munglah was most inconveniently deep and miry. To put us the more on our guard, we were given to understand, that our present halting place, the village of Munglah, was exposed to be much infested by the Collapour Rajah's marauders. By placing the village in our rear, which I contrived to do by stealing a march on my friend Boden, we secured a lodgement in the verandah of a small mosque, where we passed our time in comparative comfort; indeed luxuriously, when compared with the unsheltered condition of the poor fellows in the rear.

The 12th of June.—In the course of the night preceding, our day's subsistance for the sepoys arrived rather opportunely, as our supply of provision was nearly expended. My baggage continued still unaccounted for; and such were the difficulties with which we had hitherto been destined to struggle, that we began to look forward, with gloomy anticipations, to the final issue. The morning proved, as usual, rainy; while our hopes revived on learning that there was a part of the Warna at no great distance, known to the villagers, always fordable. We were joined by Dr. Sinclair, the surgeon of the eleventh, in the course of the day; the afternoon and night of which proved fair and pleasant.

Sunday, the 13th of June.—None of the stores had

yet arrived. The morning was decidedly pleasant; but no account from the main body of the detachment. Mr. Uhthoff, our most amiable and respectable pay-master, joined us at noon, in six days from Poonah. We now learnt that the stores were gradually coming up, though slowly; and that the whole of the guns were expected at Serroud on the morrow. The weather continued unexpectedly fine. From Mr. Uhthoff we learned that Major Dow had obtained some advantages over the Sultaun's troops to the northward of Tillecherry; not without some loss of killed and wounded. It was in the course of those operations, that Lieut. Valentine Munby, of the Bombay engineers, in escalading one of the towers, lost his eye by the thrust of a spear. On the other hand Cranganore had been abandoned by the Travancorians; and Perour had been taken from them by assault, by Tippoo's troops.

The 14th of June—still at Munglah; the stores gradually coming up, and the weather exceedingly favourable.

The 15th of June, at four in the morning, I marched with two companies; my own and Lieut. Wynne's of the eleventh, for the ford of the Warna, reached the spot at six o'clock, and by eight, had conveyed the whole of the guns and tumbrels across the river. I was not at the time of a very superstitious turn: otherwise what might have been considered a very trivial accident, would, perhaps, have awakened some melancholy anticipations. In his ardour to bring it up the steep bank of the river, Lieut. Wynne upset one of the guns; which, although rather untoward, I little thought of at the moment. But not many months afterwards, both poor Wynne and myself were destined, each of us to lose a limb before Darwar. By noon, however, of the same day, we had returned to Munglah, with the whole park of artillery in our train. The two battalions with the detachment of European artillery, also arrived in the

course of the evening; the guns, having been sent in advance, followed by Boden and his company, during the afternoon.

On the 16th of June, at ten in the forenoon, the whole detachment was in march; its direction, for the first kosse, being nearly E. the road very good; if road that could be called, where the boundless plains, were at our disposal. Afterwards our course tended N.N.E. At noon we passed through the village of Ayturiah, which in appearance had been a place of some importance, the southern extremity being still defended by a double wall of sun-dried clay. Like all the others, however, that we had hitherto seen in the country, it was crumbling into ruin. About half-past one in the afternoon, having surmounted a miniature gauht of easy ascent, our march took a direction more to the east; and at half-after two o'clock we came to a halt at Kambeery. By the villagers' account the distance marched this day was not more than four kosse; which must have been of the *pucka*, or larger description, as I could not consider the distance less than twelve miles. The appearance of our halting village was rather imposing at a distance, exhibiting the outline of a considerable fortification. It proved in reality, however, a jumble of clay-built square inclosures, thrown together without either plan, or regularity; and within those squares stood the dwellings of the inhabitants. Thus, not inadequately, protected against the desultory ravage of irregular cavalry.

On Thursday, the 17th of June, at half-after nine in the morning, the detachment proceeded on its march; when quitting Kambeery, we entered the spacious plains of the Dehkan. At noon, we halted at Walva, on the western bank of the river Krishna, in the higher part of its course. The distance marched this day being three kosse, in a direction nearly east. Walva was the largest village we had yet seen, and was built nearly on the same irregular defensive plan

with Kambeery; every dwelling-house forming a distinct fortification; at least this was the appearance externally. The guns had already been passed to the opposite bank of the river. Here, for the first time, occurred a pretty general alarm in the night; occasioned by the escape of some prisoners from the quarter-guard of the 11th battalion.

Friday, the 18th of June, at nine in the morning, we crossed the Krishna, to the eastward; not far below its issue from the vale of Satarah; the river being about breast high. At ten we left that river; and at eleven we passed the village of Boorly; that of Amnapour at twelve; and about one we made a halt at Yellahy; the distance marched from the Krishna being about three kosse and a half, or seven miles. We resumed our march about four in the afternoon; and at sun-set halted not far from Taujegaum, the Bhow's principal residence. We piled our arms rather indiscreetly in the bed of a river, which ran in the vicinity, said to be two kosse from Yellahy: distance from the Krishna, altogether, five kosse and a half, or about fourteen miles—direction E. by S.

On the 19th of June, we remained near Taujegaum; which appeared to have recently risen into importance. The Durbaur, or palace, was a sufficiently respectable, if not a handsome, structure; and the Bhow was, in his own way, adopting every method to beautify the town. Adjoining the palace was a very neat pagoda, dedicated to Gunputty, or Ganesa, with the elephant's head. S.E. of the town runs the Kaproura; one of the contributary streams, to the nobler Krishna.

On this day I received a letter from poor John Beete, once a lieutenant in our service, but who had recently been constrained to sell his commission, through irreclaimable habits of drinking. He was otherwise a man of real ability, and undoubted courage; and but for this baneful propensity, would have become a distinguished officer; having been well

tried during the protracted siege of Tillecherry. He had early attached himself to me; and in his distress, I had, at his request, communicated to Col. afterwards, Lord Harris, several letters from his friends in Europe; which pretty clearly explained the cause of the excesses to which he had unhappily yielded himself. His wife, to whom he had frequently expressed himself fondly attached, had forfeited her character, and consented to live in open adultery with another man; and such was the effect which the circumstance produced upon the mind of my poor friend, that as has too frequently happened, to drown reflection, he had recourse to the bottle. He had since been received into the service of the King of Travancore; in which he obtained the command of a battalion, and shared in the defence of the lines during the attack made by Tippoo; of which he had now sent me a very clear and interesting account. All I heard of him afterwards was, that he had been killed by a fall from his horse. This, his last, letter to me was dated at Cranganore, the 9th of May, 1790.

On Sunday, the 20th of June, at ten in the morning, the detachment was on its march; our field pieces being now, for the first time, distributed at intervals in the column. At eleven we halted at the village of Kowtai, or Kowty; at the distance of about a kosse and a half, or three miles, to the S.E. of Taujegaum. The Bhow's troops had quitted the ground the same morning, to make room for us.

On the 21st of June, stationary, at Kowty. At this period there existed but very little to indicate the commencement of operations; and the fifty thousand men had dwindled into some three or four thousand. Nevertheless, from the frequent passing and repassing of parties of horse, it would appear that the Bhow was actually assembling his contingent for service. He was himself present in the village during the day; but no interview had as yet

passed between him and our commander. It was thus considered probable that nothing effectual would be undertaken on the part of our allies, whether Nizamite, or Mahratta, until undoubted information should have been received, that some decisive blow had been struck by the army under Gen. Medows, which was said to have marched from the Carnatic on the 26th of May.

22nd of June, at Kowty. It did then appear unaccountably strange, that no conference should yet have taken place between the Bhow and his gallant auxiliary, Capt. Little, the former being encamped not more than about two miles in our front. It was now discovered that the rainy season had not yet in reality set in; but that the serious commencement of the rains might be expected in a week or ten days from the present date. From the period, indeed, at which we left Munglah, we had had but little rain.

23rd of June, at Kowty. The hours now began to pass rather heavliy; not the slightest intimation being as yet thrown out as to what that could probably be, which we were destined to undertake; and a strong probability seemed to have been entertained, that we might be condemned to vegetate, at this insipid station, for some time to come. Under circumstances so discouraging, our noble army under Gen. Medows, could derive but little advantage from any expected co-operation from this quarter.

24th of June—a total blank in our story—None of the Bhow's lucky days had as yet arrived; and hence arises the delay of the conference.

25th of June—Still at Kowty, some uneasiness was excited by a report of the inhabitants, that the water which we drank had the character of producing Cochin legs, or elephantiasis; probably circulated to hasten our departure. As it happened, however, it was unexpectedly announced that we were to march on the day following.

On Saturday, the 26th of June, at a quarter after nine in the morning, we marched, in a column of sections; and in the following order:—the two flank companies of the 8th; two 6-pounders and tumbrils; the 8th batt. two 6-pounders; the 11th batt. two 6-pounders; the two flank companies of the 11th bringing up the rear. About half-after ten, we halted near the village of Coompta: the rear of our right being covered by the village walls; and our left extending in the direction of the Bhow's camp, which we observed at the distance of about half a mile from that flank.

The day produced nothing for record. No probability of a movement in advance for some time to come; the Bhow being only now preparing his gun carriages. It was anticipated, at the same time, that we should re-cross the Krishna, to the southward; somewhere in the neighbourhood of Belgaum; at the distance of about ten kosse, or twenty miles, from our position at Coompta.

28th of June—at Coompta: this day wrote to my friend Moor; and Robert Lewis of the civil service, who had undertaken to be my agent. In the course of last night an untoward quarrel occurred in the camp of our allies, between Lieut. Chalmers of the 8th. doctors Little and Sinclair, and some of the Bhow's troops; arising, as was represented, from a misunderstanding of language. Reflection must have taught us, that to avert the creation of ill blood, when so much was at stake, it was impossible to be too circumspect in our intercourse with these men.

On Tuesday, 29th of June—I find it registered, that we ate, and drank, and slept. As the Bhow was represented to be erecting a substantial Bunglah in his camp, the occurrence of a movement seemed more distant than ever. Light showers, and some other symptoms, indicated that the south-west monsoon was only now approaching. A company from each battalion was at this period first ordered

on duty, as an in-line piquet; as a precaution against surprise; and perhaps not without necessity; when considered that we were not more than three days march, as it was said, from the advanced posts of the enemy. This, by an active body of cavalry, is a forced march of one day; and as at this time the Krishna was yet fordable, an enterprising soldier might have made an attempt on Meritch; said to be about five kosse, or ten miles, in a southern direction from our camp.

1st of July—Coompta—In the afternoon a fine youth of about fourteen, attended by an elephant and some cavalry, came to look at our parade: on which occasion a wish was expressed that our allies would give us more frequent proofs of confidence in the British detachment.

2nd of July—Contrary to our expectation, the weather continued unaccountably dry.

It is painful to observe, that some remarks in the journal of this day should afford some mortifying proofs of that irksome and querulous state of mind, too frequently occasioned by the want of occupation. What, for example, could have awakened reflections such as the following?—"Every days' experience brings with it the conviction, that if we wish to pass smoothly along the path of life, it behoves us, day after day, to sacrifice some feeling or other to the caprice, or vanity, of our fellow travellers in the journey. Let us, then, check the sallies of raillery; and make indulgent allowance for the petulance, or peevishness, of friendship; for the most even-minded among us may be subject to moments of morbid irritation."

I have now a distinct recollection of the circumstance which occasion the above ebullition. My gallant friend Lieut. Andrew Foster, than whom I do not think that a braver man existed, one day resting under a tree on our march, held an argument with me, that a well disciplined soldier, who had

never stood fire, was fully equal to any service, with him who had repeatedly passed through that ordeal. This I denied; with the petulant observation, that his judgment must have been directed by his vanity; since he had himself, at that time, never been in action. As this could not fail to give serious offence, it was not surprising that, for some time afterwards, we continued on terms of great coolness.

The 2nd and 3rd of July—were days of dulness and gloom.

Sunday, the 4th of July.—Coompta—Some rain in the afternoon. We were flattered by some indirect hints from head quarters, that the Bhow intended shortly, to shift his camp to the southward. There appeared some probability in this; since report stated that the Krishna was no longer fordable, or passable otherwise than in the skin-covered wicker baskets, peculiar to that river, and some others in the Dehkan. We might, therefore, venture a little further south, without danger of surprise from the enemy.

7th of July.—Last night an unfortunate artillery-man, supposed to have been in liquor, having strayed into the Bhow's camp, fell foul of an elephant, and received considerable injury.

9th of July.—The auspicious moment arrived, in which our Commander was, at last, permitted to pay his visit of ceremony to the Bhow. The ceremony took place in the afternoon, which proved showery.

10th of July.—The weather as favourable as heart could desire, to those who were destined to pass the rains under canvas. It was, at the same time, a period of anxious expectation for accounts of the progress of the army under Gen. Medows. The Nizam's troops were now calculated to have crossed the river Krishna; the Bhow having some days since received a communication from that quarter, indicating that such a design was in contemplation.

11th of July.—This afternoon the Bhow returned Capt. Little's visit in state. He was attended by five elephants, and about five hundred cavalry, very well mounted; and of the genuine old Mahratta class of horse: our line turned out to receive him; and the artillery saluted him with seventeen guns. The principal person in his suite was Chintaman Row, a fine youth of seventeen, his kinsman; and commanding the Meritch contingent of cavalry. The presents made by our Commander on this occasion, amounted in value to about three thousand five hundred rupees.

12th of July.—My Massauljee, or link boy, took the opportunity of deserting me, without the smallest cause of complaint; thus requiting indulgence with ingratitude.

13th of July.—Some alarm was occasioned last night by the Bhow's troops saluting the new moon with several guns. Still little or no rain.

16th of July.—The bed of the river in our front, in the morning perfectly dry, became in the afternoon, and in the course of a very few minutes, brimful, from bank to bank; with a torrent seven or eight feet deep and forty yards wide, like a liquid wall; occasioned by a sudden fall of rain among the hills in our vicinity. Had this happened when we piled our arms in the bed of the river near Taujegaum, as formerly noticed, the result might have been disastrous; especially if the fall had taken place in the night.

18th of July.—About seven in the morning the Bhow's army made a march of about a mile in advance from its former ground on our left; and encamped.

19th of July.—Coompta—Rain in the afternoon in auspicious abundance. The scarcity of this blessing which had hitherto fallen above the gauht, had excited considerable alarm among the people; and the prospect of a favourable change in the

weather, indicated by the occurrence of the day, went far to remove the apprehensions that began to prevail: namely, that a distressing drought might add to the devastations of war, the fearful calamities of famine and disease.

20th of July.—Showers the former part of the day, and heavy rain during the whole of the afternoon; for which I could but ejaculate humble praise to that beneficent Being who dispenses his blessings, both on the just and on the unjust. Among the untoward occurrences of a diversified life I trusted that I might not have occasion to regret what passed on the evening of the 20th of July.

22nd of July.—The Bhow now said to have sent his artillery in advance, as yesterday. This day, about noon, a body of horse under the son of Balajee Row, was seen in motion from the Bhow's camp; the Bhow himself having it, as was said, in contemplation to cross the Krishna on a visit. Very little rain during the day, in which I was, it appears, struggling with discontent; and praying for philosophy to regulate a hasty temper.

23rd of July.—Still at Coompta.—Rain in the afternoon, and during the greater part of the night. A movement in advance was now expected to take place in five or six days. For some time past four or five of us had continued to keep mess alternately, week and week about; and I was now debating with myself, whether it would not be more discreet to live alone, than risk a perpetual collision with rash and intemperate spirits.

24th of July.—Very little rain. The design of yesterday's deliberation, I this day resolutely carried into execution: originating as it did, I much fear, not less in my own, than in the capricious temper of others. However this may have been, or wherever felt, the inconvenience was thus effectually removed. I was, at the same time, well convinced that nothing evil could ensue. On the contrary,

whatever the sense of present inconvenience, it was nothing in comparison with the risk of unhinging my faculties by habitual excess.

Sunday, the 25th of July. No rain--passed the day little reflecting on the momentous events it was ordained to commemorate. Rest from the creation of the world, and the resurrection of our blessed Redeemer.

26th of July, there occurred a slight fall of rain in the afternoon: otherwise another blank in the page of my story.

27th of July.—received letters from my agent, Mr. Robert Lewis, at Bombay: also "The Bombay Herald," a paper recently established, principally through the assistance and ingenuity of my friend Edward (now Major) Moor. No rain this day.

28th of July—I wrote to Moor and Lewis; cautioning the former against committing any of my crude speculations to the press. At this crisis, it was considered rather extraordinary that we should have heard nothing further of the operations of Gen. Medows, and his army. For this it would, however, perhaps, not be difficult to account; since all direct communication through his country was effectually shut up, by Tippoo's impermeable police. A reinforcement for the Bhow is said to be on its march from Poona; which reinforcement was farther said to consist chiefly of troops belonging to Row Rastah; a Brahmin of that name and stock, notoriously in the interests of Tippoo.

29th of July—the wind high—no rain the last two days. Official information was now received from our able resident at Poona, that a body of the Nizam's troops under Mohabet Jung, had actually crossed the river Krishna. This may probably act as a stimulus to our proceedings.

30th of July—we had some rain in the afternoon. It was further announced this day, that part of the troops from Poona, under Benna Bapoo,

(the Quarter-master General) had arrived near Meritch.

31st of July—no rain; and at present little prospect, of an advance to the southward.

Sunday, the 1st August, 1790. Still at Coompta. But, rather unexpectedly, this evening we received orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march. How fallacious then is human foresight, and how little must I have been in the secrets of the cabinet!

2nd of August. The Bhow's army marched this morning, and to-morrow we follow.

CHAPTER XI.

On Tuesday, the 3rd of August, after having been stationary at that abode of dullness and inactivity, for a period of eight-and-thirty days, reckoning from the 25th of June, we marched from Coompta, at half-after nine in the morning; and at half-past one in the afternoon we halted at Malgaum, having been exactly four hours on the march. The distance from Coompta, by computation of the inhabitants, three kosse or about seven miles; in a direction generally E.S.E. Our tents were pitched in a pleasant mango grove: the Bhow's army in separate masses to our left. The village appeared to have been of considerable magnitude; but our stay here was not expected to be of any duration.

4th of August.—at Malgaum. In the course of the afternoon, Lieut. Foster and myself determined to have a peep at Meritch, of which we had heard so much; and which lay about five miles S. by W. of our camp. The fort or citadal stand S.E. of the town, which appeared extensive and populous. The walls and towers of the fort, lofty and imposing; but of sun-dried clay, without a single embrasure. We had not then experienced the tough resistance of this species of walling. From the crest of the glacis we observed, however, that there was a respectable ditch; and that the plinth and fausse-bray was of solid stone-masonry; which added considerably to our opinion of the strength of the place. The people were provokingly jealous of our approach; and we only gained our position near the covert-way by a sudden dash. We were rather roughly sent away by some irregulars, stationed at the eastern gate of the town. The latter is also defended by a

clay-built wall; contemptible in appearance, but capable of resistance against musketry. It appeared to contain some few externally handsome-looking structures; particularly a large mosque, conspicuous at a great distance.

As, with a rudeness, which we had too frequently experienced, and doubtless arising from a very natural jealousy of our designs, the people would not permit us to enter the gates, we could form altogether a very imperfect judgment of the place. At the same time, I find it mentioned, as worthy of remark, that among us English it was always understood that Meritch was once besieged by Hyder Ally; who had been compelled, by the combined force of the Mahrattas, to raise the siege, with great loss. On the contrary, the inhabitants deny that he ever approached nearer the place than about fourteen kosse, or eight-and-twenty miles; when his army was defeated and almost cut to pieces. This statement, independently of the information of the inhabitants, seems consistent with truth; for had Hyder actually laid siege to the place, with a competent battering train, we could perceive no serious obstacle to his obtaining possession of it. It is however, no less true, that many places just as imperfectly fortified, have made a remarkable defence, against the clumsy efforts of an ill regulated attack. --We had some refreshing showers in the course of the day.

On Thursday, the 5th of August, at noon, we marched from Malgaum; and at one o'clock took up our station in the Mahratta line; the disposition of the whole being as follows:

Benna Bappoo with his division on the extreme left; the village of Malwary being in his rear. The British detachment on his left. Chintaman Row with the Meritch division, on the left of the British. The Bhow, in person, with his division on the left of Chintaman Row: and some commanders of less

distinguished note, on the left of the whole. The extreme left appeared to rest on the village of Erundi. Our line extending, as far as I could judge, about a mile and a half, from N.E. to S.W. Meritch was in sight, about S.W. by W. The direction of the day's march was about S.E.; and the distance from Malgaum not more than three miles.

6th of August—at Malwary. This forenoon I passed through the encampment of the Bhow's army, which appeared now to have received a considerable augmentation of force. From my own observation, and the judgment of some of my friends, I conceived that it might have been estimated at about five thousand of the best description of Mahratta horse, and about the same number of Pindary, or independent, marauders, who serve for plunder: exclusive of some companies of half-disciplined infantry; a number of Arabs and Sindians, and other irregular matchlock men. Benna—or as he was sometimes called Bana-Bappoo—was said to have been a near relation, a sister's son, as was supposed of Nana Fernovies, the Peshwa's Prime Minister, or principal Secretary of State. Chintaman Row was the elder brother's son, of the Meritch family.

The Bhow's artillery, consisting of ten pieces, large and small, was at this time to be conveying across the Krishna, at Errour; distant about eight kosse, or sixteen miles. From Errour to Belgaum said to be twenty kosse; and from the latter place to Kittour, eight or ten kosse. Darwar was now pretty clearly ascertained to be the object of our first serious operations; and was stated to lay a great way to the eastward; and there we were told that the Sultan's troops were assembling in considerable force. From the Sultan's army in Coimbatore, the Bhow is said to have received information that Gen. Medows was at the distance of only three kosse from the enemy: and that a force of two-and-twenty thousand men had been detached by the

Sultan, of which the destination was not known. A few more horse joined us in the course of the day; which proved gloomy, with a slight fall of rain.

On the 7th August—at Malwary. We were chaffering for a march in advance. Some symptoms of irritation observed at head-quarters; where, in general, there existed an equanimity almost imperturbable. The mildness of Capt. Little's temper and disposition was, indeed, never questioned.

On Sunday, the 8th of August, at three-quarters after nine in the morning, the detachment marched from Malwary, the Bhow's army remaining on the ground. At twenty minutes after eleven we passed a village surrounded, as was now the case in general, by a clay-built inclosure, with small towers at intervals. At forty minutes after twelve we came to our ground, near the village of Nerwa: having been about two hours and forty minutes on the march: distance, by the natives' account, three kosse: general direction, S. by E. The pagoda on a hill north of Nerwa, is a very conspicuous object from that place, and the country round.

On the 9th of August, at ten in the forenoon, we marched from Nerwa; and at a quarter past eleven we came in view of the river Krishna, from the rising ground above the village or town of Kegwa. This place appeared to be in a very respectable state of defence against musketry; being surrounded by a stone and clay-built wall, with towers at intervals, in good repair. About the centre of the town there stood, moreover, a lofty tower or keep; the lower part, as far as one-third of the height, constructed of stone; the rest of sun-dried clay. As far as this place, the direction of our march was south, tending to the west; but having passed Kegwa, we turned short to the left in a direction S.E. following the course of the Krishna: which ran at the distance of about a mile on our right.

Thus we continued until within a quarter of two

in the afternoon; when coming to another but more obscure village, we again took a direction south. At twenty minutes before three, we passed another gurry, or fortified village; and at twenty-five minutes after three, we finally halted at Errour Manjary; on the left, or north, bank of the Krishna, then rolling in a majestic volume to the eastward. As the rain fell very heavily during the march, and I wore boots that ill fitted me, I became painfully foot-galled: from which I found relief by wrapping my feet in linen soaked in sallad oil. Here we found that the Bhow's artillery had actually crossed the river, as we had been taught to expect.

On Tuesday, the 10th of August, at half after ten in the morning, the 8th batt. moved to the ferrying place in order to pass the river to the southward: but there appearing only one boat, and a large circular basket, formed of split bamboos, and covered with buffalo hides, for the reception of the men; while, at the same time, it was thought inexpedient to squabble with the Bhow's troops, who were rudely contending for priority; the battalion was counter-marched to its ground, after waiting for a passage, to no purpose, until near two in the afternoon. Some conception may be formed of the tediousness and difficulty with which this passage is effected, when it is known, that a period of fourteen days was consumed in crossing the Bhow's guns; only ten in number. To complete the measure of our discomfort, we had heavy rain during the whole of the afternoon. The Krishna, at this spot, bends its course nearly east; and was, at this period, according to a survey of Capt. Thompson, about four hundred yards in breadth.

11th of August.—The two flank companies of the 8th had completed their passage of the river between nine and ten. At four in the afternoon, I marched again to the ferrying place, with the 3rd and 4th companies of the 8th: and reached the

south bank of the river—bleak and dreary enough—with the last men of our company, by eight in the evening. As the afternoon had, however, proved dry and pleasant, and the people appeared contented and happy in their bivouac, I was myself not a little pleased; considering, as I did, that all things appeared to prognosticate a successful issue to our undertaking.

12th of August, at Culloul, or Culloura, on the south bank of the Krishna.—At seven this morning the Bhow's guns proceeded in advance. The last division of the 8th batt. consisting of Lieuts. Foster's and Chalmer's companies, joined us at nine o'clock: and four companies of the 11th effected their passage in the course of the day. The river Doodgunga enters the Krishna a short distance above, or to the westward of, the spot on which we were encamped: from whence also, situated on a small hill, about W. by N. may be seen the Ramalinga pagoda.

13th of August, at Culloura.—The remainder of the 11th crossed, with the exception of Lieut. Powney's company; and in the course of the forenoon our guns and tumbrils made their appearance on the north bank of the river; although at the moment it was considered imprudent to risk them in the boat and basket. The detachment of artillery, however, joined us in the afternoon, which proved showery.

14th of August, at Culloura—The bazaar, or camp-market, came up with us; and the guns, with most of the tumbrils, were brought across the river, in the course of the day: the wind continuing high and rather boisterous, rendered the passage of the river sufficiently tedious.

Sunday, the 15th of August—at Culloura.—The remainder of the tumbrils, and the heavy stores, were conveyed across this forenoon; and by two in the afternoon both guns and tumbrils were all

re-mounted on their carriages. As we were probably to move in advance in the course of a very few days, an opportunity was taken to note, that from our present ground at Culloura, may be seen the Pagoda hill, between Coompta and Malgaum, bearing N.E. the hills near Meritch, almost due W. and another range of hills, running in a semi-circular direction, from S.W. to S.E. seemed to form a natural barrier to the southern part of the Mahratta territory.

On the 16th of August—At Culloura. Capt. Little and Staff came over this morning. Twelve rounds of ammunition were served out to the detachment this day; and at night, while we were amusing ourselves with the performances of a very ordinary set of dancing girls, some marauder availed himself of the opportunity to steal a horse, belonging to Lieut. Ireland, of the artillery.

18th of August.—Still at Culloura. The battalions were mustered this day; as it was expected that we should march on the day following, from that bleak and wretched place. Here I find a mortifying remark on the frequent desertions among the sepoys, owing, as was supposed, to the dearness of provisions.

19th of August.—At a quarter after nine in the morning, we marched from Culloura, and reached our ground at Bindwaur, considerably fatigued, at a quarter before six in the afternoon; having been eight hours on our march, over a very rugged and troublesome tract of country, and as steril in appearance as I had ever beheld. Distance, by computation of the inhabitants, four kosse; and our course S. by E.

20th of August.—Forty minutes after nine in the morning we continued our march from Bindwaur; the scenery much pleasanter than yesterday. Saw for the first time a numerous herd of spotted deer; to which some of our heroes gave chase, without success. Having reached the foot of a range of hills, the scenery assumed a more refreshing

appearance in every respect, than for a long time we had been accustomed to. At twenty minutes past three in the afternoon, we halted on the north bank of the river Guhtpoorbah, opposite to the town of Gohkauk. The distance from Bindwaur three kosse, in a direction nearly S.E. It is here observed that the description of kosse must have differed very materially from that to which we had been accustomed, north of the Krishna; that is to say, the kosse were become larger.

21st Aug.—At Singnapour, probably Sungumpour, north bank of the Guhtpoorbah. The 11th batt. commenced the passage of the river at twelve o'clock. During the afternoon, having learnt the cause of the thundering sound, which had all day and night attracted our attention, Lieut. Foster and myself, with some other brother officers, took a walk along the river upwards, or westward of our camp, for about two miles; when we beheld, with a mixed sensation of awe and admiration, the fall of the Guhtpoorbah, certainly surpassing every thing of the kind that I had ever seen. To contemplate at full leisure a body of water, many feet in thickness, fifty or sixty feet wide, and plunging down a rocky and perpendicular precipice, at least eighty feet in depth, must have excited a variety of sensations: while the romantic recess in the hills, which the splendid volume of water had chosen for its plunge, clad with trees and shrubs, from top to bottom, produced the most pleasing effects upon the vision. If my memory doth not deceive me, there existed at the period in question, on the summit of the rock on the south bank, and overlooking the cataract, a building of stone, which I conceived to be a pagoda, with durrumsalah or choultry, either for devotion or recreation; which probably still remains, and must be the spot from whence the fall, and its concommitants, may be viewed with every advantage. The river is said to have its source in the mountains

about Collapour. By the natives, the fall is denominated, characteristically enough, Doomdoomma: conveying, indeed, no imperfect idea of the stunning roar, occasioned by the precipitous descent of such a body of water into the boiling vortex below; the foam of which rises to a considerable height, and exhibits, when reflecting the rays of the sun, the usual brilliant prismatic tints.

On our return to camp, rumour conveyed to us the report that we were to experience some opposition on the next river, the Malpoorbah, which could not however be expected to be very formidable; since the information of the hirkaras—or messengers, or spies—stated that the whole force of the province did not then exceed 3000 men. But the time was fast approaching when all doubts on this, and other points, would be finally removed.

Sunday, 22nd Aug.—At Singnapour. The morning was lovely; and in the course of the afternoon, four companies of the 8th batt. crossed the river, by the same species of conveyance as on the Krishna; and took up their station in a line along the east wall of Gohkauk.

23rd Aug.—At Gohkauk. This, next to Meritch, and perhaps Taujegaum, was by far the most considerable town that we had seen in the country. Like the rest, however, the walls and dwelling-houses were constructed of sun-dried clay, although with more than ordinary neatness and regularity. It was, in truth, next to Bilghy, the neatest, and most cleanly town I had ever seen. It was it seems, a considerable manufactory, of sauries (women's robes) turbans and dupettas (men's clothing, or sashes.) The fort, to which the town forms the peint, or pettah, is, or was, of some magnitude; lying along the south bank of the Guhtpoorbah, but without artillery. There were around it some vestiges of a ditch; although at that period of little utility in defence. The castle, if it deserved the name, was

situated on a hill of rather a conical shape, west of the town, and would, if furnished with artillery, have raked the place from end to end. Neither can I forget that we were daily treated with the sight of numbers of extremely beautiful Hindu women, who came, without restraint or reserve, to bathe in the river at the foot of the spacious flight of steps, leading from the fort gate.

The two remaining battalion companies of the 8th crossed the river in the course of the day; our field-pieces having also been brought to the south side before night fall. Advices were now received that the army under Gen. Medows had taken possession of Coimbatore, without resistance, on the 22nd of July; that is to say, just one month ago—a pretty strong proof of the difficulty of conveying intelligence through the territories of the Navaub Sultaun.

24th Aug.—At Gohkauk. The tumbrils and ammunition were brought over in the course of the day; the flank companies of the 8th still remaining on the north side of the river.

25th Aug.—The flank companies of the 11th crossed the river this day, with the remainder of the baggage and stores. It would appear that the rainy season had now entirely broken up, since we have not had even a shower for some days past.

27th Aug.—Still at Gohkauk.

28th Aug.—At night, or late in the evening, Capt. Little received intelligence that the enemy had crossed the Malpoorbah in force, with several guns, and the design of beating up the quarters of the Bhow's son, Appa Saheb, whose division was about eight kosse in advance of us. In consequence of this information, we were, of course, on the alert.

Sunday, 29th Aug.—Nothing occurred as yet to disturb our tranquil repose.

30th Aug.—Still at Goohkauk. The intelligence of the other evening proved erroneous; the very reverse being the case; the villagers south of the

Malpoorbah having claimed the protection of the Bhow.

31st Aug.—At half-past seven in the morning, after a halt of eight days, we marched from Gohkauk; our course leading us over the most rugged grounds, with the exception of the gaulits, that we had as yet travelled. Between ten and eleven in the forenoon, we passed a fortified place at the distance of about half a mile on our left; and at noon we skirted a village, which we only marked as miserable, and deserted by the inhabitants. In fact, this was altogether the poorest and most steril tract of country, we had yet crossed in our progress to the southward. We came to our ground at Sevapour about two in the afternoon. The direction of our march was about S.E. and the distance from Gohkauk about nine miles. One of the Bhow's gun-carriages broke down during the march.

1st Sept. 1790, at six in the morning, we marched from Sevapour; and at twenty minutes past two in the afternoon we reached Manouly, a large walled village on the north bank of the Malpoorbah. This was a long and fatiguing march; distannee at least six kosse, or fifteen or sixteen miles. The direction nearly east. Two-thirds of the road led over extensive plains; but in the latter part the road was extremely rugged. In the evening we had thunder and rain, and much of both; which might probably indicate the actual breaking-up of the south-west monsoon.

2nd Sept.—We remained at Manouly, which we found of a more respectable description than we at first conceived. To the eastward, between it and the ford of the Malpoorbah, it is protected by a fort, which is surrounded by a tolerably good ditch. The Bhow's cavalry were assembled in great force to our left, and between us and the peint, or town.

3rd Sept.—We remained at Manouly. Our allies were this day crossing the Malpoorbah.

4th Sept.—Between nine and ten in the morning, we passed the Malpoorbah, by the ford at the eastern end of Manouly, with spirits much excited; it being our first step in the territory of the enemy. Like other would-be great men, I distributed the few silver coin about me, among the bearers who carried me over. By eleven o'clock, all the British detachment was quietly encamped on the south side of the river. Prior to our departure from Manouly, the main body of the Bhow's force had taken up its ground near that place. As a memento against intemperate warmth, I have ventured to notice an unbecoming squabble between two of our officers, which I condemned, as very ill-timed, at least, at the moment, when we were on the eve of actual hostilities with the common enemy.

Sunday, 5th Sept.—In camp opposite to Manouly. A large foraging party from the camp of our allies passed our line this morning for the enemy's districts.

6th Sept.—At seven in the morning, the British detachment marched from the Malpoorbah; and at ten o'clock entered the pass which actually led into the territory of the Bahauder; the appellation bestowed hereabout, with some degree of awe, upon Tippoo Sultaun. At three in the afternoon, we halted at Sandooty, having made a circuitous march of seven kosse, for the convenience of a gun road; the direct distance not being more than three kosse, nearly S.W. from Manouly. The latter part of the march was both harassing and painful, through scarcity of water. As yet there was no appearance of an enemy. A great deal of rain fell during the night.

7th Sept.—At ten in the morning, we were in motion in advance from Sandooty. And at half-after eleven o'clock reached our halting place at Goulsen, or Gourlyser: encamping on a finely elevated spot, with the Malpoorbah running along our rear. The Bhow's troops were now assembling in

great force, and from various quarters. Our distance from Darwar stated to be six kosse; not more, perhaps, than fifteen miles. Here I received letters from Robert Lewis and my friend Moor.

The force of the enemy in this part of the country is now said to consist of two koshouns, or brigades, of regular infantry, and 200 horse; with whom we were soon to be better acquainted. Various, at the time, were our conjectures as to the precise destination of our detachment; but, as is observed with serious propriety, come what come may, I trusted that in the hour of trial, the same gracious Providence, which had hitherto supported me, would not now withdraw its protection.

8th Sept.—We remained at Gourlyser.

9th Sept.—About half-past six in the morning, our combined force marched from Gourlyser; the Bhow's cavalry covering our front and flanks to a great distance, so that there was little chance of our seeing an enemy this day. About eleven in the forenoon, we took up our ground near the village of Cabour, said to be about three kosse, or nine miles only, from Darwar; before which we expected to make our appearance the day following. The distance marched this day about three kosse and a half, not much more than seven miles, in a direction nearly S.E.—Our encampment was nearly due south of Manouly.

10th Sept.—We remained at Cabour. About a mile on our right, at the village of Beidguiry, some days prior to our arrival, the Bhow's troops, the Pindaries probably, experienced some check from the inhabitants; but the Rohilla gardees, as they were called, having carried the wretched place by assault, it was pillaged without mercy; and a number of captives fell into the hands of the assailants. This was the first act of hostility that came within our knowledge. In the course of the evening our gallant Commander had a conference with the Bhow.

11th Sept.—Our Commander, accompanied by Capts. Mc Donald and Thompson, escorted by a large body of cavalry, proceeded to reconnoitre the fortress of Darwar; which they approached within the distance of 600 or 700 yards. Its distance from our camp stated to be about ten miles. A body of troops were encamped without the place; which gave the reconnoitering party several guns, without mischief. People began now to surmise, that Darwar would not prove quite so easy an acquisition as we had permitted ourselves to imagine. We had heavy rain during the whole of the afternoon.

Sunday, 12th Sept.—Still at Cabour. It was on this day that I became apprized of the death, at Vipein, on the coast of Malabar, of my early, and valued friend, Lieut. William Morris. He had exerted himself, notwithstanding a serious lurking complaint, to accompany his corps, the 7th—Capt. Gore's battalion; and became the victim of his attachment to the service. This loss I long lamented, as of one to whom I was attached, by habit, as well as by many years experience of his sterling worth; and I had the most substantial reasons for the conviction that our attachment was mutual.

13th Sept.—at Cabour. This was a day of continued fair and serene weather.

14th Sept.—At nine in the morning, we marched from Cabour; and at half-past eleven came to our ground at Jedwar; said to be about two kosse, or five miles, from Darwar. This day we were accommodated with the first fair display of the Bhow's force; which was now estimated at 15,000 horse, and 3,000 foot, of various descriptions; Arabs and Sindians, and Rohillas, and some half-disciplined Hindustanies, with muskets. The spectacle had certainly an imposing and magnificent effect; exhibiting a better equipped, and more formidable body of cavalry, than that for which we had given them credit.

The night view of the Mahratta camp, filling the hollow in our rear, and extending upwards, along the surrounding acclivities, was singularly splendid; blazing with innumerable fires. To complete the interest of the scene, that ordinary accompaniment of Mahratta warfare, an unfortunate village in flames, embellished the back ground, like the moon among the stars of Heaven.

15th Sept.—At Yedwar. This forenoon another reconnoitering party, accompanied by the Bhow in person, proceeded to view the outline of the works of Darwar, when a more accurate survey of the place was obtained than on the former occasion. All however, appeared to agree, that this advanced post of the enemy was of very competent strength; although obviously commanded by a range of hills to the southward, and a high conical hill to the eastward; as yet occupied by the enemy. At all events, a few days would now furnish us with a full disclosure of the momentum of resistance which we were likely to experience. A strong body of troops lay encamped under the walls; said to be commanded as a covering force, by Budder-uz-zemman Khaun; a veteran, and distinguished, soldier, much in the confidence of the Sultan: a confidence, as we shall see, fully justified in the event. As some sort of set off to this information, it was further alledged, that a misunderstanding subsisted between the old soldier, and the Killadaur, the civil Governor of the fort; who had, in consequence, refused to admit either himself or his Koshouns into the place: a statement completely disproved by the result.

16th Sept.—Still at Yedwar, idle and inactive.

17th Sept.—At Yedwar. In the course of the day I walked alone to one of the eminences in sight of Darwar, and obtained a distinct, but distant, view of the place, and the camp of the enemy under its walls. The works appeared very extensive and formidable; but we could not succeed as yet in ascertaining its assailable points.

18th Sept.—The allied army marched at nine in the morning; and about eleven appeared within gun-shot of Darwar. A great part of the day was consumed in making a circuit of the place, from the westward, behind the hills, which nearly overlook the place from the southward, to the east side. Our detachment with its field-pieces, marched in an open column of half companies; and must have appeared to the enemy's irregulars, who stood within musket shot, without molesting us, as if on a review parade. The place was now acknowledged to be the strongest country fort on a plain, that we had ever seen. We gave the enemy some 6-pound shot, from the hills to the southward; on one of which our Com.-in-Ch. the Bhow, at last, planted three of his guns; and with these he continued to amuse himself great part of the day, in plunging random shot into the fort, and the peint, or town, to the east of it.

About one in the afternoon, the British detachment descended in an open column of companies, through the hollow between the southern range, and that small conical hill, afterwards called the Bhow's hill, completely exposed to the enemy's works; and halted under cover of a rising ground, within musket-shot of the peint, or pettah; which I have already described as lying on the east side of the fort; from the fire of which we were thus protected. Here we remained, offering battle, until four in the afternoon; galled, during the whole of the time, by the guns and musketry, from the peint and its vicinity. The guns were by no means unskilfully served; since by lessening the charge of powder under the instructions of an European deserter, they at last discovered the proper range; and plunged their shot among our files. Previously to this, we had observed to the left of the gate, near the north-east angle of the peint wall, the head of a dense column of regular infantry with arms as bright as our own. And opposite to, or in front of, the same gate, they had now brought a field-piece, with

which they began to play upon us; but a single shot from one of our 6-pounders, laid by Capt. Thompson, striking the carriage of the gun, or very close to it, the piece was precipitately withdrawn; and we saw no more of either gun or column. At this juncture, supposing that we were not aware of the approach of this column, Dr. Cruso came running down the hill to apprize us of it; at the same time delivering a message from the Bhow, requiring us to withdraw. This came by no means unseasonably; as an occasional crash among the muskets of our people, announced to us that the enemy's shot began to tell with fatal effect. And we accordingly retired up the hill, in the same order as that in which we had advanced. At this moment a shot struck the earth just between Lieut. Boden's horse's feet; and our Commander, jealous of the slightest appearance of unsteadiness in our ranks, observing a slight wavering, in Lieut. Chalmer's division, which immediately preceded mine, accosted that officer in harsher terms, than I had ever heard him use towards any one before. In effect, he cautioned him aloud, to beware of bringing disgrace upon his corps, by the unsteadiness of his company in the presence of the enemy. As this caution was given aloud, it seemed to harden every nerve; and the column although exposed, for several hundred yards, to the fire of the enemy, continued its retreat in such excellent order, as to excite the admiration and applause of the thousands that were looking on from the adjoining hills.

At half-after eight in the evening, we re-entered our camp at Yedwar; almost exhausted with fatigue and excitement. We had also experienced some disappointment; having been led to expect that if a fair opportunity presented itself, we were to have stormed the peint. But, considering the then superior, and effective force of the enemy, it was, perhaps, fortunate that the attempt was not made.

As it was, we had on this occasion, either killed, or disabled, nine privates, of the 8th batt. which led in the advance, and brought up the rear in retreat, and a *naik of the 11th, all by common shot—and all for what, as yet to us appeared a mystery; although we soon discovered that it was the common system of Mahratta warfare.

Sunday, 19th Sept.—At Yedwar. Appa Saheb, the Bhow's son, marched this morning with a body of horse to the eastward. We had heavy rain the greater part of last night. Received a letter from Moor.

20th Sept.—At Yedwar. Reports were in circulation that a reinforcement of 3,000 men was on its march, to join the garrison of Darwar. Heavy rain the whole of the evening.

21st Sept.—At Yedwar. The autumnal equinox: and we had accordingly, a deluge of rain during the afternoon. The plan of laying close siege to Darwar was now abandoned; and that of reduction by cutting off its supplies, resolved on. Our allies being, indeed, totally unprovided for the operations incidental to a regular siege. Many desertions among our sepoys occurred both to day and yesterday.

22nd Sept.—Still at Yedwar. The day was very fair until sun-set; when, and for sometime afterwards, we had abundant rain.

23rd Sept.—At noon, the army marched from Yedwar; and at four in the afternoon encamped at the small town of Hibly. Darwar was in sight, bearing S.W. distant five or six miles. A most luxuriant growth of jowary—a sort of millet—covered the plains all around us. There was much thunder and lightning, followed by a heavy rain, in the evening.

24th Sept.—At Hibly. Here I received a letter from Mr. Robert Lewis, apprising me of the death

* The lowest rank of a native non-commissioned officer—a corporal.

of my friend Morris, and of his having bequeathed to me a legacy of 1000 rupees. This was altogether unexpected; but if any such were wanting, it was a gratifying and convincing proof of his undying friendship. We marched at mid-day from Hibly, and encamped at great Hubely, at four in the afternoon. This place, which formerly possessed an English factory, subordinate, probably to Vingorla, lies about S.S.E. of Darwar, at the distance of about six miles, and about the same distance S.byW. of Kooshgul. The town, which is surrounded by a weak wall, kept up a fire of small arms, on the Bhow's troops, during the night. The country round was very luxuriant and beautiful to the eye.—Rain in the evening.

25th Sept.—At Hubely. This morning, after the discharge of half a dozen shot from the Mahratta artillery, the town surrendered to the Bhow. An event had occurred in the course of the night before, which led to another and immediate change in the plan of our campaign. The enemy, by a skilful sortie from Darwar, succeeded in beating up the quarters of a division of the Bhow's cavalry, left at Hibly; of whom they killed an officer, and a number of horses; the riders having gallantly made their escape.

Sunday, 26th Sept. In pursuance of our change of plan, we counter-marched from Hubely, taking however, a circular course through the vicinity of Darwar, by way of defiance, as we supposed; and about noon we re-encamped on our former ground at Hibly. The district which we had thus traversed, was apparently rich, and in high cultivation; the jowary crop being in many places the height of a man on horseback.

The force of the enemy which sallied from Darwar on the night of the 24th, is said to have consisted of 2,000 infantry, with 2 guns. These latter they planted in front of the village, thus drawing the

attention of the Mahrattas; while, making a detour round the hill in the rear of the place, they attacked the Bhow's troops at the top of the hill. There were some men killed and wounded on both sides; but it did not appear that there was any attempt at pursuit. The enemy being permitted to retire with the plunder of the village in their possession, with such an efficient body of horse at command, does not reflect much credit, either on the vigilance or activity of our allies.

27th Sept.—At Hibley. From the hill in our rear, were to be seen Kooshgul, a regular and well constructed fort, on the plain, belonging to the Sultan; bearing about S.E. Neilgound, on a hill, with a peint and gurry at the bottom, distant about six kosse, or nearly fifteen miles, also belonging to the Sultan; and due north, at the distance of about eight kosse, or about twenty miles, was Noorgoum, eminently strong by nature, being situated on a high hill. This latter is in possession of the Peshwa's troops, and is renowned for having sustained a protracted siege against Hyder Ally; although at last compelled to surrender to the arms of that successful usurper. It was, however, restored to the Mahratta government at the conclusion of a treaty of peace.

28th Sept.—At eight in the morning, the army marched from Hibly; and at noon halted at Nerindra, a village nearly north of Darwar, and at the distance from it of about one kosse, or two miles and a half.

29th Sept.—At Nerindra. The Mahratta system of warfare was daily becoming more irksome and unsatisfactory. The country was over-ran with pillage and conflagration. Substantial conquest appeared unthought of. The weather was perfectly serene for some days past.

30th Sept.—Nerindra. It should have been previously noted that of this village, as well as of too many others in the vicinity of our course, nothing

but the clay-built walls of the dwelling-houses had been left standing; the thatched roofs being carried off for forage, and every inch of timber removed for fire-wood, by the Mahratta troops. And here again we had occasion to regret the unprovoked, and unaccountable, desertion, which prevailed among our native troops. I wrote this day to my friend Edward Moor and to Mr. Lewis.

Several guns having been fired from Darwar, I hastened, together with some of my brother officers, to the hill in front of our right; from whence we obtained a splendid view of the works; while a body of infantry, with eight or nine stand of red colours, drew up without the covert way. The object of this parade will be presently explained.

1st Oct. 1790.—A heavy squall of wind and rain this afternoon.

2nd Oct.—Nerindra. This day a deserter from the 11th batt. delivered himself up; but received for his folly, by sentence of a court martial, nevertheless, the punishment of 1000 lashes. He was supposed to have fabricated the story of having been in Darwar; from whence, as an article of agreeable intelligence, he had brought to us a report, that Tippoo had cut to pieces, or captured, of our noble and well-appointed army under Gen. Medows, 2 regiments of Europeans and 2 battalions of sepoys; which success had occasioned the discharge of cannon that had attracted our attention on the 30th ult. The report must, however, have referred to Col. Floyd's perilous and splendid retreat from Sattimungalum; which commenced on the 14th of Sept. just 19 days before.

On this subject I find it here rather boldly remarked, for a subaltern of nine years standing, how much it derogated from the judgment of the Roman Brutus, to whose rigourous example Gen. Medows had some time since referred, to have thus exposed his army to be cut off in detail; by placing so valuable

a division of his army, in defiance of so many fatal examples, so far beyond the possibility of support. It was, however, the general opinion at the time; and I suppose I could not avoid noticing it in my diary.

Sunday, 3rd Oct.—Nerindra. Received a letter from my friendly correspondent, Edward Moor; stating among other speculations, the probability of a war with Spain; in consequence of which, a considerable detachment of troops, destination not explained, had been prevented from leaving Bombay.

4th Oct.—Nerindra. We marched in the morning for Darwar; and after making the usual circuit, by the southern range of hills, returned to camp at night. Two grenadiers of the 11th were killed by cannon-shot; but providentially none of the 8th were at all injured this day.

5th Oct.—Nerindra. Advanced again this morning by the hills to the southward, in order to keep our friends in Darwar, on the alert, and give them battle if they choose to come out. A circumstance occurred this day, which, for its singularity, may, perhaps, in the absence of more important matter, be admitted into our simple narrative. While Lieut. Boden and myself were both quietly seated on the side of his palanquin, a cannon-shot came trundling down the hill, behind which the detachment was drawn; and taking one of the bearers, who were sitting round us on the ground, on the back of the head, he fell senseless to the earth, to all appearance a dead man: but what was our gratification and surprise the next day, to find the dead man as full of life as ever. After this, I could not help listening with more respectful attention to the statement of our old Commandant of the 9th batt. Capt. Riddell, who had often declared that, during the siege of Mangalore, an 18-pound spent shot had struck him on the shin, with no other injury than a slight contusion. The position of some of the Bhow's guns, behind the

breast of the hill in our front, drew upon us many a shot of the same kind, which, although disquieting, passed without injury.

6th Oct.—Nerindra. We marched as before, to menace the garrison of Darwar; and returned to our camp at night, hitherto unscathed. But some horses belonging to the Bhow's cavalry were dreadfully mutilated by cannon-shot; and it was melancholy to see the noble animals mortally wounded, and left standing in dumb agony, on different parts of the hill, while life was already ebbing from their veins. It was, indeed, quite surprising that we should thus daily have escaped so well; considering that as we usually marched in an open column of companies, the shot, laid for the Bhow's cavalry on our flank, passed perpetually through the intervals of the column, without producing a single casualty in our ranks this day.

7th Oct.—Nerindra. The army marched at seven in the morning to the usual scene of operations. The enemy appeared this day something more shy in their demonstration, and more sparing in their ammunition. They were probably a little discouraged, and their ardour damped by a spirited dash among their people, by the Bhow's cavalry in the course of last evening. One of the Mahratta gardees, or regularly clad infantry, was killed during the day. We returned as usual to our camp in the afternoon.

8th Oct.—Nerindra. A day of repose to all parties.

9th Oct.—Nerindra. Marched, as usual, to the scene of action; the only good effect derived from which seems to have been the habituating of our people to stand fire. We returned to our camp in the afternoon, without a casualty.

Sunday, 10th Oct.—Nerindra. Marched as usual. It was reported to us that fifty of the enemy's infantry had deserted from the fort last night, and became enrolled in the service of the Bhow. By their account

the garrison was already distressed in the article of provisions. Returned in the afternoon without loss.

11th Oct.—Nerindra. I remained in camp this day with my company. Some of the Bhow's bazaar followers, were detected last night in communication with the enemy, whom they were supplying with provisions. The day did not pass without some serious accidents. One of the Bhow's guns burst, by which two men were killed and two wounded. There were also two of the gardees killed, and two sepoys of the 11th batt. wounded, by the cannonade.

12th Oct.—Nerindra. The tour of the hills was this day taken by the 11th batt. alone; the 8th remaining in camp.

13th Oct.—Nerindra. The 8th batt. marched to the hill according to custom, and returned to camp in the evening. The enemy cannonaded the bank N.W. of the fort, on our return, with more than ordinary vivacity, and killed several of the Kanarese in the service of the Bhow, who were skirmishing with some of their irregulars.

14th Oct.—Nerindra. The enemy came out last night and attacked our horse piquets, for no other purpose, it would seem, than to keep us on the alert. Lieut. West, of the artillery, had this day a dangerous fall from his horse. In justice to the memory of a very zealous and gallant officer, I would here remark that Lieut. West was an excellent artilleryist, equally distinguished for his skill and activity. He was killed some years afterwards, when serving with a detachment from the garrison of Surat, against the pirates, north of the gulf of Cambay. This was a day of rest to the detachment.

15th Oct.—Nerindra. Another day of rest. The rainy season was now concluded; as we had not experienced a single shower since the 1st of the month, at Hibley.

16th Oct.—Nerindra. We remained in camp. The weather excessively hot. This was the day on

which I first experienced the approach of that illness under which I suffered long afterwards.

Sunday, 17th Oct.—Nerindra. The Desserah festival: which may account for the inactivity of the three last days. The weather continued hot in the extreme.

18th Oct.—Nerindra. The detachment resumed the routine of operations on the hills south of Darwar, in attendance on the Bhow; and returned in the evening without loss. At night I experienced the severest attack of bilious fever I had ever known. For some time past, we had been accustomed, at the termination of our diurnal excursions, to regale ourselves, in the absence of a more wholesome beverage, on a raw deletrious spirit, obtained from Goa, our nearest port of supply, made into hot punch, And to this I must principally ascribe, the tedious and protracted suffering which I was about to experience. I received a letter from my kind correspondent, Edward Moor.

19th Oct.—Nerindra. I was unable, from indisposition, to accompany the battalion, which marched in the morning according to custom.

20th Oct.—Nerindra. The 11th marched this morning, to the usual scene of operations, and appears to have returned in the evening without a casualty.

21st Oct.—Nerindra. From aggravated indisposition, unable to accompany the battalion; which marched in the morning and returned in the evening, as usual.

22nd Oct.—Nerindra. The 11th batt. had the tour of the hills. The cannonade was rather moderate these two last days.

While I was this night writhing under the agonies of burning fever, I overheard a native, in a neighbouring tent, feelingly deplore my hapless condition, without mother, or wife, or sister, to alleviate my affliction. It is, perhaps, needless to say that this was one of the gentler sex; of whose sympathy in

distress, ungrateful man hath had so many illustrious examples to record.

23rd Oct.—Nerindra. A day of repose to the whole—myself excepted.

Sunday 24th Oct.—Nerindra. The 8th batt. marched as usual, and returned without casualty in the evening.

25th Oct.—Nerindra. The 11th marched to the hills.

26th Oct.—Nerindra. This was a day of inaction, preliminary to an eclipse of the moon at night.

27th Oct.—Nerindra. The 8th batt. had the tour of the hills. One of the grenadiers was killed this day. As yet no symptoms of convalescence on my part.

28th Oct.—Nerindra. The 11th took the tour of the hills.

29th Oct.—Nerindra. The 8th marched to the usual scene of operations, and returned in the evening without a casualty. I began to despair of recovery.

CHAPTER XII.

On the 30th of October, in the forenoon, after remaining on that ground from the 28th of the preceding month of Sept. the British detachment marched from Nerindra, to a position about two miles N.E. of Darwar, where we encamped about one in the afternoon.

Sunday, 31st Oct.—Camp N.E. of Darwar. This day the enemy offered us an opportunity of putting a signal check to their overbearing audacity. In the course of the morning they had ventured to advance a considerable body of infantry with four guns, to an embankment on the acclivity or slope of the elevated ground eastward of the town, and within less than 200 paces of the spot where the Bhow had stationed his artillery. This had been early observed, and an attempt to sieze the enemy's guns was immediately proposed by Capt. Little to the Mahratta General. But although the undertaking was, at the outset, readily agreed to, the Bhow finding that it might become necessary to expose a part of his cavalry to the fire of the enemy's works which covered the peint or town, cooled, and hesitated so long that the opportunity was on the point of being lost. The enemy had already drawn off one of their guns, when the Bhow was prevailed upon to sanction the decisive step. The grenadiers of both battalions under Capt. Alexander Macdonald of the 11th led in a single line, to the attack, supported by the battalion companies, also in single line. The 8th batt. was posted in reserve, on the rising ground, in our rear, sloping to the N. of the Bhow's pagoda hill. Aware that the attack was to take place, I had considered it my duty to join my company, although

scarcely able to walk without assistance. We moved rapidly down the hill, under a heavy fire of cannon and small arms, from behind the embankment, where the enemy had taken post; and where they were completely prepared for our reception. But the moment our first line reached the foot of the embankment, the enemy, before they had felt the points of our bayonets, suddenly broke, and fled, in the utmost consternation, abandoning their three remaining guns. We pursued down the hill, to a small rise in the ground, close to the N.E. gate of the peint, where we were held in check, by a sharp and incessant discharge of musketry and rockets from the peint walls. At this moment we were very prudently ordered to withdraw; having indeed accomplished the object of our attack, in beating down the enemy and capturing their guns. Fortunately they were not yet sufficiently recovered from the recent shock, to disturb us in our retreat, which was rather in tumultuous order, as our column became crowded into a dense mass, in a hollow way leading from the town. Having little chance of making my way good in such a throng, and being at the same time almost exhausted with fatigue and excitement, I took the arm of one of our serjeants (Jones, afterwards badly wounded in the mouth) and diverging into an open field to the left of the retiring column, I contrived to get off safe and unhurt. My brave friend Lieut. Foster, set his company to the drag-ropes, and brought away the three captured guns, which constituted the only trophies of our victory.

We could not ascertain the loss of the enemy, who could not have been in number, less than 2,000 men. Their casualties could not have been very numerous, because they broke before we could come to push of bayonets, and we had been strictly ordered not to load. But if a division of the Bhow's cavalry, had, as recommended, passed round our right flank, when the enemy broke, scarcely a man could have escaped

into the town. The Bhow in person was a quiescent spectator all the time, on the hill, in the rear of our left.

The loss on our side, on this occasion, was rather severe, considering that the number engaged could not exceed 700 fire-locks. In both battalions the casualties amounted to 69 killed and wounded. Lieut. Wynne of the 11th, had his thigh shattered by a cannon-shot, and must have bled to death if he had not himself applied a tourniquet. Lieut. Maxwell of the 8th, at the head of his grenadier company, was badly wounded by a musket-shot in the knee, from which, although he lingered for some time, he did not recover. A violent paroxysm of fever, at night, was the result of my day's exertion.*

1st Nov.—Camp, N.E. of Darwar. I continued to suffer most acutely from yesterday's fatigue. Otherwise this was a day of rest to the detachment.

2nd Nov.—The 11th batt. marched to the pagoda, on the Bhow's hill, and returned in the evening, with two sepoys, wounded.

3rd Nov.—My fever nothing abated.

4th Nov.—The 8th batt. took the usual tour of the hills, and returned in the evening without loss.

It was considered advisable this day to establish a permanent post on the pagoda (or Bhow's) hill, which was now occupied by two companies of the British detachment with some of the Bhow's infantry.

Sunday, 7th Nov.—The 8th batt. marched to the hills. And thus, from day to day, was continued the same desultory Mahratta system; without making the slightest visible progress towards the reduction of the place. The frequent desertions from the garrison, tending rather to the advantage of the enemy,

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* Lieut. Price was especially thanked, in public orders, for his conduct on this occasion, he being at the time—"more fit for a sick bed."—Ed.

by relieving the old fox of a Killadaur from the supply of many superfluous mouths. It was, indeed, become sufficiently manifest, that the fortress of Darwar was not to be carried otherwise than by the operations of a formal and regular siege. We had, now, scarcely any reason to expect that the garrison would be compelled to surrender, either through scarcity of subsistance or want of water, in sufficient time to admit of our progress to the southward for any useful purpose; considering that the paramount object of this army was to co-operate in a combined attack on Mysore. From the continued drought which had lately prevailed, a want of water was soon likely to occur.

10th Nov.—This was a day of inaction. During the night, however, an alarm on the left occasioned our line to stand to their arms; although, as frequently, it ended in smoke.

24th Nov.—Camp. From the 10th of the month to this day inclusive, beyond the usual routine, of marching to the hill and back again, nothing seems to have occurred worthy of remark or remembrance.

25th Nov.—We moved, and took up our ground this day about 300 yards to the left of our former encampment; and I found myself at last beginning to recover, which under Providence, I cannot but ascribe to the attention of my medical friends, and a rigid milk diet.

26th Nov.—The enemy came out during the night, and kept up for some time a sharp fire of small arms on the Bhow's advanced party to the right of the pagoda hill, and along the embankment; from which they had been so roughly expelled on the 31st Oct. They were answered, pretty briskly, by the Bhow's artillery; it was apprehended with considerable execution, *among his own troops*. The enemy retired, however, without further mischief, although the British detachment was compelled to remain on the alert during the greater part of the

night. It was afterwards proved that the portion of the garrison engaged in this sally, had fallen into confusion, and in the midst of the disorder, fired upon each other, killing and wounding numbers of their own people.

Although at this distance of time, we may be disposed to contemplate those nocturnal alarms with perfect indifference, they produce, nevertheless, at the moment, amidst the incessant flash of cannon and small arms, the most heart-stirring excitement. On this occasion, much to the displeasure of my medical friends, I took post at the head of my company. As it happened, however, I did not then suffer from the night exposure.

30th Nov.—Nothing worthy remark occurred during the intermediate days, between the 26th of the month and the present date. But yesterday, positive information was received that a respectable reinforcement for this army, under Col. Frederick, was to leave Bombay on the 19th instant.

1st Dec. 1790.—Letters were received from Col. Frederick, announcing his actual debarkation below Sungumiswara.

3rd Dec.—Several articles of supply from Bombay, by way of Goa, arrived safe and seasonably this day; comprising, among other things, some good Madeira and brandy. It may be observed that Goa lay about 100 miles to the westward of our camp.

4th Dec.—Lieut. George Maxwell, Adjutant of the 8th batt. died in the course of the night, of the wound in his knee, received in the action of the 31st Oct. Rather hasty in temper, poor Maxwell was, nevertheless, a very gallant, zealous, and active officer. A salute of artillery in the Bhow's camp announced the reduction of Gujundergurr.

7th Dec.—The enemy sallied out about twelve last night, and attacked some of the Bhow's cavalry posted near the white pagoda; launched a few rockets, fired thirty or forty musket-shot, and retired.

10th Dec.—I was this day posted to the grenadier company, vacant by the death of Lieut. Maxwell. Of this distinction, which I then thought of sufficient importance, I recorded a hope of being worthy. The motto on my shield should have been *Spes in Deo.*

13th Dec.—It had been for some time whispered about, that an attempt would be made to carry the peint by storm; and this day the design was put into execution, by a desperate attack, in which the whole of the two battalions was engaged, under the immediate direction of Capt. Little. Our troops succeeded in entering the town, after a most obstinate resistance, on the part of the enemy, who were fully prepared for defence, the attack being made in the early part of the afternoon. In this assault my brave friend Lieut. Foster, was most dangerously wounded, while, on the top of the peint walls, he was wavering his cap for the sepoys to follow. Capt. Little himself was shot through the shoulder, although, as it turned out, the wound did not prove dangerous.

In the evening, however, as had been foreseen, the place was evacuated by our people rather precipitately; because the Bhow's officers had neglected to provide the materials for making, at the head of the streets, lodgements, to cover the troops from the fire of the fort, which opened immediately on the town, at the distance of not more than 250 yards. There was also a strong out-work on the south-west angle of the peint, of which it was necessary to possess ourselves, in order to maintain our position in the place.

Independent of our Commander and Lieut. Foster our casualities on this occasion, in the 8th batt. alone amounted to 46 non-commissioned and privates killed and wounded. I was prevented by the remonstrances of my medical friends from taking apart in this serious conflict; providentially, as I afterwards thought —the odds being that, in my state of weakness and exhaustion, I must have been left on the ground. Such at the time was the extreme lassitude under

which I laboured, that in attempting to walk I felt as if a 12-pound shot were fastened to each of my feet.

14th Dec.—I wrote this day to my friend Lieut. Moor. A message was received from Budder-uz-zemman, desiring that the killed and wounded left in the town might be removed.

16th Dec.—This day the Bhow's infantry entered the peint without opposition, the enemy considering it useless to defend it any longer; particularly the lower part facing the E. The loss of the garrison on the 13th, and the consequent desertions, are said to have been rather serious.

20th Dec.—I have omitted to observe that subsequent to the 15th of the month, either one or other of the two battalions had alternately occupied a dry tank, or bund, in the hollow, to the southward of the pagoda, or Bhow's hill, both night and day. The Bhow's troops extending themselves along the outside, and under cover, of the east wall of the peint, or pettah. The enemy appeared much reduced in point of number, and abating in spirit. Their desertions are frequent and disheartening; if indeed they are not craftily connived at by the Killadaur, to lessen his consumption of provisions; since a much smaller force, than that which originally composed the garrison of Darwar, was amply sufficient for the mere defence of the fort. I have also, rather unaccountably, omitted to state that the original force consisted on our first appearance before Darwar, of between 10 and 11,000 of the Sultan's best disciplined infantry. In the sequel we shall find that Budder-uz-zemman marched out of the place, on his capitulation, with the skeletons of five koshoons.

21st Dec.—This day received a note from Lieut. Moor, at Ambah; stating that the detachment under Col. Frederick had completed the ascent of the gauht on the 15th of the month.

22nd Dec.—About this time I felt much impatience and irritation at the tediousness of my recovery; and I again find the remark, such was the degree of lassitude under which I lingered, that when leaning on the arm of a friend, I attempted, which I sometimes did, to see the advanced post, at the bund, I certainly felt as if some heavy weight were attached to both my feet.

23rd Dec.—A sepoy of the 8th batt. at the advanced post, was this day wounded by a cannon-shot.

25th Dec.—Another sepoy of the 8th was wounded last night by a musket-shot. The Bhow's battering train from Poona arrived this day, some of the guns drawn by at least 40 yoke of oxen.

28th Dec.—A considerable firing of small arms, and some cannon, took place during last night; and this day arrived in our camp Col. Frederick, accompanied by Maj. Sartorius, of the engineers, and Capt. Bailie, of the artillery.

29th Dec.—I became this day sufficiently recovered to join the battalion at the advanced post, in the bund. The enemy's principal detached battery, on the rise at the S.W. angle of the peint was attacked and carried in the early part of the night, by the 11th batt.—the 8th supporting the attack. On this occasion Lieut. Boden and myself drew up the chief part of the battalion, on the left of the battery, open to the fort, in order to repel any attempt on the part of the enemy to reinforce the post. This attack took place contrary to the desire of Col. Frederick, who wished to defer the enterprise until the arrival of the Bombay European regiment—a part of his force. On our part, the argument was that it would derogate from the credit of our detachment if any part of the enemy were permitted to remain without the fort, until the arrival of our friends.

30th Dec.—The 8th batt. were lodged under cover of our embankment S.W. of the fort; and the 11th

continued in that captured work, in honor of our Mahratta allies, now called the Ram battery. The enemy quite passive.

31st Dec.—This morning, at day-break, with the grenadiers of the 8th, I relieved Capt. Mc. Donald and the 11th at the Ram battery; and during the day the enemy abandoned their last work without the covert-way; first setting fire to it.

Saturday, 1st January, 1791.—Camp as before. Relieved from the Ram battery by the 11th batt. The abandoned battery S. of the fort, which had been occupied by the Bhow's infantry, was in the course of the morning successively taken, and retaken, three different times by the enemy; of whom it finally remained in possession for about an hour. Between our post at the Ram battery, and that of which the enemy had thus obtained their brief possession, there was a hollow dip, about 150 or 200 yards over, exposed to the cannon of the fort; across which we had the mortification of looking on, while the enemy's stragglers were cutting off the heads of the slain: after which they took their final leave of the post, and retired into the covert-way without molestation. This work I may as well observe, was that, in the rear of which we subsequently erected our breaching battery. In the course of the afternoon I rode to the camp of the Bombay European regiment, now arrived in the neighbourhood.

2nd Jan.—On duty in the Ram battery. Col. Frederick's division, consisting of the Bombay European regiment, commanded by Maj. Facy, and the 9th batt. of Native infantry, under the command of Capt. Riddell, joined us this day; and, accordingly, the Colonel assumed the chief command. The ceremonial visit took place in the afternoon.

4th Jan.—The troops on duty in the advanced post were this day reduced to 6 companies of sepoys, and 25 Europeans. I wrote to "good old Lonsdale," who had quitted us some time since, in health

much impaired, with the design of returning to England. In the action of the 31st Oct. he was like myself, "fitter for a sick bed than the exertions of the field." And before he left us, he had, despondingly, foretold that many a head would yet be laid low, before we should be in possession of Darwar. We never met again, as he died shortly after his arrival in England.

5th Jan —Camp as before. On duty in the advanced post. Notwithstanding the recent accumulation of force, the operations of the siege do not appear as yet to have been much accelerated.

8th Jan.—The 6 flank companies of the 3 battalions, were this day formed into a grenadier corps, of which the command was assigned to Capt. Riddell, as senior in rank to Capt. Mc Donald, with my friend Edward Moor, of the 9th, as Adjutant. The 2 grenadier companies of the 8th, had no other European officer but myself; my brother subaltern, poor Foster, still lingering under his wound. We occupied a separate position on the right of the line, some short distance in advance.

9th Jan.—Camp as before. This day terminated the life and sufferings of my brave and valued friend Lieut. Andrew Foster. His recovery had for some time been despaired of; and a day or two before, his extremities being already paralized, I had guided his hand in the signature of his will—his intellects still unimpared, with a perfect sense of his approaching dissolution. The melancholy duty fell to me, of firing three vollies over his grave, which was prepared under a large tree, in the rear of our right wing, about two miles in a N.E. direction from Darwar. In him the service lost a most steady, promising and valuable officer, and his numerous friends a most amiable and intelligent associate.

10th Jan.—Accounts were this day received of the reduction of Cananore, by the Bombay army under Gen. Abercromby; and the victory gained over

Mehtaub Khaun, at Farockabad near Calicut, by the Bombay division, under Col. Hartley.

11th Jan.—The materials for our breaching battery, were this day reported to be ready; and we marched at night, as a working party, to convey these materials, consisting of gabions, fascines, and sand bags, to the spot indicated for such battery. As an example to the sepoys every officer shouldered a sand bag, and so proceeded to the rear of the work last abandoned by the enemy, on a rising ground, 5 or 600 yards from the covert-way, in a direction south of the fort. I was still so weak from my recent illness, that the bag which I carried had nearly borne me to the earth. Between the hour of midnight, at which we commenced, and five in the morning, we had nearly completed a battery with three embrasures; and, strange to say, the only casualty that occurred was a European soldier, shot through the body by a musket-ball.*

12th Jan.—The enemy fired pretty briskly, at our battery, without however effecting any material injury.

13th Jan.—The "British battery" was strengthened and completed during last night, and one of the Bhow's battering-pieces brought into it. But one of the other two guns had been bemired in a slough. Contrary to our sanguine expectations, the battery did not open its fire this morning.

14th Jan.—The British battery opened at daybreak, but with much less effect than we had persuaded ourselves to hope for; the works of the fort being formed of that toughest of materials, sun-dried clay, in which our shot seem to lodge, without producing any fracture. Our guns moreover—one of them a brass 36-pounder—were so unwieldy and clumsily mounted, that they were worked but slowly,

* The enemy did not discover, or suspect, the progress of the work, until day break.—Ed.

and with much labour. Several of our artillery-men were wounded in the course of the day.

15th Jan.—On duty in the battery. Two artillerymen were killed, and three more with several gun lascars were wounded, in the course of the day. Our fire, however, began to produce some effect upon the enemy's works, which crumbled away, more favourably than was at first expected.

I have already stated that our battery was constructed in the rear of the out-work last abandoned by the enemy; that is, between it and the fort. This work was rather of a circular form, convexing to the south-eastward; and to protect the guard of the battery from being exposed to a raking fire from the S.W. angle of the enemy's works, a shoulder had been thrown out, in a direction south, to the distance of perhaps 30 feet, from the right or western extremity of the work. The guard of the trenches, or what I have called the advanced post, was lodged in the ditch of this work, with their rear open to the hills, and their left, to the shoulder above described. This latter was at first so lightly formed, that we could perceive the bulging made by the enemy's shot, even in the facing within.

About 20 or 30 yards on the reverse, or fort side, of the work, was constructed our breaching battery; from the left of which, and connecting it with the right of the post occupied by the guard, a thin epaulement was also raised, to serve as a screen to our people at the guns.

16th Jan.—The breach exhibited as yet no great appearance of being soon practicable; and our ammunition is suspected to be already running short.

17th Jan.—Last night, while walking in the rear of our post near the battery, Lieut. Stewart, a promising officer, in the engineer department, was killed by an accidental musket-shot. He was leaning at the time on the arm of Lieut. Emmett, who was doing duty with the engineers, when he received the

shot, which pierced his heart, and he instantly expired, without a groan, or even a start. His friend discovering what had taken place only by a heavier pressure on his arm.

19th Jan.—On duty in the battery. I here find noted what I could not but consider as rather a providential escape. I happened to be leaning on the parapet of the breaching battery, watching the effect of our shot; when a shot from one of the guns on the S.W. angle of the fort, to which we had given the name, of the "grey-goose," from the hissing sound of its hammered balls, struck the feathers which I wore in my cap. An artillery-man at the guns, exclaimed "what a narrow escape." Whether the shot in passing actually touched the feather in my cap, or merely occasioned a re-percussion in the air, I will not pretend to assert; but that I felt the shock, as if some one had made a pluck at my hat, is most true; and the feathers were flying about the heads of the artillery-men immediately on my right. We were relieved in the evening.

20th Jan.—Our ammunition being expended, the battery ceased from firing; so that the breach was very soon in a state of complete repair.

Sunday, 23rd. Jan.—There was as yet no supply of ammunition. In the course of last night, the enemy sallied out from the work in front of the gate-way—what might with propriety, perhaps, be called the Barbican—and attacked the Bhow's people on guard in the vicinity: of whom having killed a few, they, as suddenly, returned into the fort.

In the day time it was extremely amusing to watch the frequent skirmishing between the garrison from the covert-way and the Bhow's irregular infantry. These skirmishes usually took place on the intervening low ground, about 200 or 250 yards across, between the fort, and the ruins of the peint, or pettah, to the eastward: and as they frequently terminated in single combat, the spectacle could not but remind us of the

y scenes on the plain of Troy, so vividly painted
the Iliad. But there was a don Cossac in
rticular, in the service of the Bhow, who with
vord and target, so frequently traversed this de-
ateable ground, and with a port so intrepid, as to
rrest universal attention; and I could not hesitate,
at the time, to mark him as the champion of the Mah-
ratta army. He was ruddy in complexion; I am
afraid from too intimate a communication with the
brandy bottle; in stature, about the middle size; but
square built, and very athletic. His quilted haber-
geon stuffed with cotton, gave him, indeed, an
exterior almost herculean. What finally became of
this brave belligerent I did not learn; but as he was
never shy in exposing his person, it is very probable
that his war-like story was brought to an early close.

24th Jan.—This day I received his farewell letter
from our poor friend Lonsdale, on his departure for
England.

26th Jan.—The plat-forms of our battery, were this
night shifted to the left, with the addition of a fourth
embrasure.

27th Jan.—On duty in the battery.

29th Jan.—At day-break this morning, our battery
re-opened on the works of Darwar; our fire directed
as before, towards that part of the exterior wall,
little to the westward of the great cavalier towe
called the fattah boorj, or "tower of victory." O
hopes were now pleasingly revived; but as if it w
to caution us against expectations too sanguine,
battery in the course of the day appeared in a
of combustion, from the fire of our own guns.
considerable difficulty, and under a furious canno
from the enemy, the fire was however, finall
extinguished, without material injury.

Sunday, 30th Jan.—The works did not yet
to have been much damaged by the fire of our
Several casualties, in killed and wounded
course of the day.

31st Jan.—On duty in the battery. The enemy, as usual, had repaired the breach during the night; notwithstanding the sharp fire kept up by our advanced party posted in a ravine, in front of our battery. A well known artillery-man, of the name of Tuckwood, was killed this day. The Bhow's people appeared to be getting the start of us, in their approaches to the covert-way, from the eastward. Their principal attention seems to have been directed towards the out-works contiguous to the gate-way.

The system which they pursued was, as they found their opportunity, to dig several pits at some distance asunder, and as nearly as possible in a strait line; gradually exfodiating from one pit to another, they connected the whole together in one trench, which they deepened and widened at convenience. Indeed I have passed along their principal approach, formed in this manner, of a sufficient depth to cover a man on horseback.

2nd Feb.—It was either this day or yesterday, that a swordsman of the garrison, walked over from the covert-way, and with the greatest coolness in the world, entered our breaching battery; and suddenly laying about him with his sword, before the sepoys could recover from their surprise, had nearly driven the whole from the battery, officers and all; when he thought fit to retire. But before he could make good his escape into the covert-way, he received a musket-shot, of which it was subsequently understood, he died shortly afterwards. The man was evidently under the influence of a dose of bang, or hempseed tea, and the surprise was occasioned by his having been taken for a deserter; in which character individuals of the garrison were daily passing over to our lines.

3rd Feb.—The grenadier corps was this day exempted from duty at the battery, in contemplation of the general assault, now supposed to be at hand.

4th Feb.—Col. Frederick this day harangued the

detachment; and the disposition was arranged for the approaching storm.

Sunday, 6th Feb. 1791.—The flank companies and other details, destined for the assault, marched last evening to the vicinity of the advanced post, preparatory to that momentous operation. A report made last night, by the superintending engineer, Maj. Sartorius, and Maj. Thompson, commanding the artillery, that the breach was then impracticable, rendered it necessary to postpone the attack until the present time. But whether the result of this day's firing may render it more assailable, a few hours will now determine. In the mean time, having halted on the spot from whence we were to advance to the attack, contrary to what is generally recommended to men about to engage in mortal conflict, I partook, with the relish of a good appetite, of the disjuncta membra of a cold fowl, and laid myself upon the ground, awaiting the signal to advance.

It will not, perhaps, be thought extraordinary that, even at this distance of time, I should not be able to approach this crisis of my destiny, without sensations of deep and poignant distress; for although the event did not abridge me of life, it effectually cut off from me that hope of eminence in my profession, which had hitherto been the stimulus of all my exertions.

7th Feb.—Having slept by our arms for the greater part of the night, our storming column moved to the attack, about 4 o'clock in the morning; the following being the disposition of the whole detachment:—

The storming column under Capt. Little, consisting of 240 Europeans, and the six flank companies sepoys composing the grenadier corps. These latter commanded by Capt. Riddell, and not exceeding 360 rank and file. The 11th batt. with 30 Europe infantry, under Capt. Alexander Mc Donald, was destined to scour the covert-way to the left, or ward of the breach; and Mr. Yvon, or Ev

refugee from the Madras establishment, and now an officer in the Bhow's service, with his corps, led on by 16 of our Europeans, was destined for a similar purpose to the right. The 9th batt. was employed in the arduous service of carrying facines, to fill the ditch.

In pursuance of this management, the 9th batt. bearing the facines, moved forward to the covert-way, and the storming party immediately followed to the glacis; which being very abrupt, steep and unfinished, afforded the most convenient cover to the troops, who otherwise would have been fearfully exposed. The attempt to fill the ditch was soon disclosed to the enemy, who seemed in perfect readiness for the conflict; and a tremendous fire of cannon and small arms, immediately burst upon us, from the whole of the adjacent works. In a short time it became pretty obvious to those on the spot, myself among the number, that the scheme of filling the ditch, was, under such circumstances, utterly impracticable; for it was scarcely in the nature of a sepoy to carry a single fascine beyond the crest of the glacis—such was the incessant and appalling discharge of cannon and musketry to which they were now exposed. The bright effulgence shed around us by the profusion of blue lights, and other fire-works, rendered all as clear as day. Some of such a number of facines, must, however, have rolled over into the ditch, as they were afterwards perceived blazing from the combustibles hurled from the works.

During the progress of this arduous operation, I had ascended to the crest of the glacis; and from thence I became convinced that a perseverance in attempting to fill a ditch, which, like an impassible chasm tremendously dark and deep, appeared to cut us off from all possible access to the breach on the opposite side, must, indeed, have been utterly fruitless and unavailing: and I had scarcely returned to my company at the head of the sepoy column, when

received from Capt. Little, an order to dislodge the enemy from the half-moon in the covert-way to our right, which kept up a galling fire on that exposed flank of our column. I proceeded accordingly; and having entered the ditch of the work, and once opened upon it a circle of fire, the enemy within suddenly disappeared, after discharging their pieces, and pelting us with stones, without any further resistance.

I had, however, scarcely time to look round me, when a heavy fire of small arms from the great cavalier, and flag-staf towers, and the adjoining lines of defence, none of which were at the distance of more than 50 feet, opened upon our left, which was entirely uncovered. Almost at the same instant I received two musket-shot; one of which grazed the bone of my left wrist, and the other passed through my right ancle, just above the instep, which seemed to nail my foot to the ground. I immediately withdrew my people from a situation in which they were so dangerously exposed, and formed them in a half circle, under cover of the glacis, in front of the half-moon, where they lay in comparative security. Capt. Little now came up; and I was led away to the post behind the breaching battery, where, fainting with loss of blood, I had my wounds examined, and bandaged up. In my way to the post, I had met Capt. Bailie, who was acting as aide-de-camp to Col. Frederick, going down with orders to Capt. Little to withdraw his column from the attack; which was fortunately done before broad day-light: the few fascines which had been thrown or rolled into the ditch, having just been set fire to by the enemy, and thus affording a competent apology for relinquishing the prosecution of this dangerous and adventurous enterprize.

Our casualties in this unfortunate attempt, were not so heavy as might have been expected. Lieut. Chalmers, a very modest and respectable officer

the 8th, was killed in the breaching battery, his head being literally smashed by a cannon-shot, so close to Lieut. Seale, as to have covered the latter with his blood. Mr. Yvon, was also among the killed, together with about 30 of our sepoys; myself and 54 sepoys wounded. Of these there were of my own company 10 killed and wounded.

As day must have broke long before the rear of our column could have been beyond the view of the garrison, I could never account for the forbearance of the enemy. Fortunately they were, or might have been, perfectly satisfied with the triumph they had obtained, such as it was; otherwise the loss of our retiring column might have been infinitely more severe, than happily was the case.

In a journal left by my long lamented friend Lieut. Hugh Ross, the Maj. of Brigade of our detachment, I find it stated, that after our attack had been discontinued, a fruitless and ill-concerted attempt was made by the Bhow's troops, in the direction of the works near the gate-way, in which they suffered the loss of more than 100 men. On his return with Capt. Little, he saw the Bhow; and while they were yet in conference with him, a beautiful and favourite charger belonging to the Bhow, was killed, by a cannot-shot from the fort. He appeared with his usual self-possession, and the same imperturbable serenity of countenance that never deserted him. He called up Col. Frederick, as he was passing by; and having asked him for a sight of his watch, he placed his own in the Colonel's hands, with a request that, as it was much out of order, he would get it repaired: in the mean time that he would keep the Colonel's until that was done. He avoided saying much on the subject of the attack, having had, on that head, a very warm discussion with our Chief in command, some three days before.

At noon, the enemy called out to us to remove

11 of our killed, who had been left on the ground contiguous to the covert-way—which was done.

The day after I was wounded, the confined space within my own raouty tent, rendering the heat very oppressive, Capt. Little, with his usual sympathy and humanity, had me removed to his own marquee, in the rear of our line, where I remained under continued suffering until the 1st March. On that day my poor friend Ross came to announce to me that the wound in my ancle had assumed so dangerous a complexion—sinuses, the forerunners of mortification, having already made their appearance above the knee—that unless I submitted to amputation my days were numbered. Although, with that instinct, with which, under every vicissitude, we are impelled to cling to life, my mind was soon made up on the subject, I requested that I might be allowed a few hours to prepare myself. On the 2nd March, it became very evident that I must immediately choose between death and amputation, the gangrene having extended rapidly upwards. I therefore submitted to the knife; and by noon my friends Cruso and Archibald Little, had taken off my right leg, some inches above the knee. The operation was certainly appalling, but not by any means so unindurable as I had apprehended. At the same time it is probable that the quantity of opium which I had been taking may have considerably deadened the sensations of pain.

The unwearied tenderness and humanity with which to the last, I was treated by my excellent medical friends, Cruso and Little, far surpassed all compensation that would ever be in my power to make. They are both long since gone to the repose of the grave; but the relief from severe suffering, which I so frequently derived from their skill and assiduity, must ever remain an unrequited debt in my memory. Neither can I ever forget the extraordinary devotion with which, in spite of every prejudice

of caste, the sing, or raujepout havaldaurs of my company, night after night, watched beside my bed of sickness; and it is with unfeigned sincerity that I embrace the occasion to attest my thorough belief, that there is not a race of men existing, in whom true courage and mildness of disposition, are more intimately blended, than in this truly noble class of Hindus.*

12th March.—This night died Col. Frederick, quite unexpectedly by all but his medical attendants. Even his adversaries admitted that he was a brave, active, and intelligent officer, although to many he was extremely haughty, and imperious in his demeanour. The failure of the attack on the 7th Feb. is said to have preyed upon his spirits, and thus to have brought on his premature death.

From this to the 1st April, a period of deep distress and suffering, I had but little to remark upon—but on that day, through God's providence, and the unremitting attention of my medical friends, I was for the first time since the occurrence of my wound, able to set up in my chair. On that day also, a negociation commenced with Budder-uz-zemman (or "Bothering Jemmy," as the Europeans quaintly called him) for the surrender of Darwar; which was finally delivered up to the Mahrattas, on the afternoon of the 4th: when the veteran Killadaur marched out of the place, accompanied by the last of the five Koshouns, which originally composed the strength of his garrison—now diminished to about 3,000 men. Through some stipulation or other, the fort does not appear, however, to have been entered by the Bhow's troops until the 7th of the month: probably that was the earliest auspicious day in the Mahratta calendar.

Thus, then, reckoning from our first reconnoisance,

* A high, proud—justly proud—race of warriors: of whom many are in all ranks, except in the band, of our native regiments. Their names usually terminate in Sing—Lion. Rajpout, means King-descended.—Ed.

on the 11th Sept. to its surrender on the 7th April, our operations before Darwar occupied a busy period of 209 days. The loss of the British detachment during the same period, is stated at 100 Europeans, and 400 sepoys, including officers, killed and wounded. The loss of the Mahrattas was estimated at 3,000 men of every description.

From the commencement of the campaign on the 18th Sept. to the month of May, of the European officers, which were 10, attached to the 8th batt. 7 were either killed or wounded.

Before I took my final departure from Darwar, I was carried one day in a palanquin, to view the spot where I had received my wound; and I found, as I had always described, that the ditch of the half-moon, was descended by steps; and, to my surprise, that the principal ditch of the fort, immediately to my left in the attack, was only 12 feet deep. In other parts, however, this latter was stated at irregular depths, from 20 to 35 feet, and generally from 20 to 30 feet wide. I can only add, that the place was defended by a double rampart, with an inner and outer ditch, the former 20 feet wide, and deep in proportion. Exclusive of the field-pieces, which the garrison were allowed to take away, there were mounted on the works, 22 pieces of heavy ordnance, with 2 mortars, and a number of jinjauls, or fixed wall-pieces. From this, it will be obvious, that in order to keep up the formidable fire, which they occasionally poured upon the besiegers, they must have removed their guns to different parts of the works, according to the point of attack. Consequently there were other points frequently left much exposed to contingencies. I am, however, not aware, that the north face of Darwar was ever threatened; our attacks being directed upon the east and south sides.

I should have noticed, that before the veteran Killadaur felt himself justified in offering to capitulate, the sap, or approach, from the English battery,

had been carried quite across the intervening space, to the crest of the glacis. Neither shall I omit to remark, that half a dozen British 18-pounders and a brace of medium mortars, would have abridged the period of this tedious and irksome siege, by at least two-thirds. But a certain etiquette prevailed among our Mahratta allies—that the equipment of the British detachment acting with Prusram Bhow, should be precisely the same as, and neither more nor less than, that of the detachment serving with the Nizam's contingent.

During the calm which succeeded the surrender of Darwar, two circumstances occurred that were of sufficient interest to claim a place in these recollections. The one was a perfidious and unwarrantable attack, made by the Bhow's troops on the extruded garrison, encamped in the security of good faith, about a mile in the rear of our line; in which the Killadaur was himself wounded, and his camp plundered without mercy. And I am not aware that the humane and spirited remonstrances of Capt. Little obtained any reparation of the outrage. This incident occurred the very day after the Mahrattas had taken possession of the fort, and was very probably provoked by the completely denuded condition in which it was found.

The other circumstance was a frightful conflagration in the Bhow's artillery park, on the night of the 10th April, which produced, for the time, the wildest confusion and alarm. For the discharge of cannon, of which the shot had not been drawn, as the conflagration extended from gun to gun, and the hissing of innumerable rockets flying about in every direction, spread the momentary impression that the camp was attacked; but from what quarter it was in vain to conjecture, unless it were from old Budder-uz-zemman, in retaliation for the outrage committed on the 8th. The truth was, however, soon ascertained; and the mischief discovered to have arisen

from the habitual and inveterate carelessness of the Bhow's people, in smoking or using fire, among the quantities of loose ammunition scattered about. The havoc which this produced, both in man and cattle, as appeared at day-light next morning, is said to have been most deplorable; although I heard of but few casualties among our people.

CHAPTER XIII.

On Tuesday, the 12th of April, 1791, in concurrence with the opinion of my friends, I quitted the army near Darwar, at day-break, in company with Capt. afterwards Gen. Charles Boyé, on my return to Bombay by way of Poona.

A journey of 4 kosse brought us at 9 o'clock to the village of Beidgurry; and we remained there until 4 in the afternoon, when we continued our journey 2 kosse further to Doodwaur. There we passed the night in a Mahomedan burying-ground, by the side of a stagnant pool of water, undeserving the name of tank. This was without the village, which, independently of the clay-built wall with which it was encircled, is further protected by a gurry, or little fort, on the acclivity of the hill, which arises from it to the westward. Distance travelled this our first day, 6 kosse.

13th April.—At break of day we moved forward with our cavalcade; and about 7 in the morning crossed the Malpoorbah, at a desolate village on the north side of the river, marking, on this spot, the former frontier of the belligerent powers. Continuing our journey, we reached Pusswour, an obscure village on a small nulla or rivulet, between 9 and 10 in the forenoon; distance from Doodwaur, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ kosse, or from 11 to 12 miles. We resumed our journey in the afternoon, and proceeded to Mergoud, at the foot of the hilly range which extends from Gohkauk to Manouly; said here to lay 8 kosse to the eastward. Belgaum, on the other hand, from whence we had latterly procured our butcher's meat, is stated to be 2 or 3 kosse to the westward. The last kosse and a half of this day's

journey, was rugged and stony; and my bearers being greatly fatigued, it became expedient to comply with their earnest solicitations for a day's repose. The palanquin, in which I rode had been Col. Frederick's, and was, indeed, so clumsily and heavily made, that it was impossible not to be often distressed at their apparently over exertion.

14th April.—We remained at Mergoud, much annoyed by the troublesome curiosity of the villagers.

15th April.—We left Mergoud at 6 in the morning, almost immediately ascending the hill in the neighbourhood. About 10 in the forenoon we reached the inconsiderable village of Sevapour; a garden in the vicinity of which afforded us, in this inhospitable wilderness, a most agreeable retreat. Here it was impossible for two young men, equally sensible of the graces of the female form, not to remark that this obscure spot possessed some of the loveliest women we had ever seen in the country. At four in the afternoon we continued our journey to Kourbette, which we reached a little after sun-set. Gohkauk hill was in sight, N.W.—distant about 2 kosse.

My limb, this day, was in a painful state of irritation, occasioned principally by the uneasy motion of the palanquin, of that description called *miaunah;* equally oppressive to the bearers, from its ponderous weight and clumsiness. It is observed that with the exception of the trifling ascent from Mergoud, the road descends gradually, among loose stones and scattered underwood, most of the way to Kourbette —distance travelled, 6 kosse.

16th April.—We left Kourbette at the ordinary hour of 6 in the morning, and at 8 o'clock we crossed the Guhtpoorbah, which we found almost dry, about two miles below Gohkauk. At nine we halted at Arvâi, a village by which we formerly passed on our march to the southward. The distance from Darwar by the road to the spot where we have crossed the Guhtpoorbah, would, therefore, appear

to have been 20 kosse. Calculating the kosse south of the Krishna at 2½ English miles, this would amount to a distance of about 42 miles from Darwar.

This day I had the gratification to discover that the wound in my wrist, which had hitherto occasioned me considerable pain and inconvenience, was perfectly healed—just 68 days from the period at which it was received. I cannot omit to observe that during the whole of our journey, my kind-hearted fellow-traveller, every morning dressed my wounds with a patience and tenderness, which I can never forget.

My bearers now complained of the weight of the miaunah more greviously than ever, certainly not without reason, for it was most inconveniently ponderous; but as there was no other choice, I had been induced to purchase it from the effects of the late Col. Frederick, who had probably made use of it only as a sleeping place. By awakening a sense of honor in this most useful class of men, I prevailed upon them, however, to continue our journey in the afternoon to the miserable hamlet of Jagnour; distance about 2 kosse from Arvâi. We moved a little after sun-set, taking up our residence for the night in the temple of Gunputty, or Ganesa, the Janus of Hindu mythology. Distance travelled this day altogether, 6 kosse.

It had already become pretty obvious that the jassous, our guide, must have had instructions to keep us wide of the best and most flourishing villages; otherwise the state of desolation and wretchedness of those which had actually fallen in our way, must have furnished a most frightful picture of the devasting effects of Mahratta domination.

Sunday, 17th April.—At 6 in the morning, we continued our journey for 1½ kosse to Kabour, which we reached at 7 o'clock. Here we had previously determined to remain for the day;

my bearers having declared themselves completely exhausted. A day's rest was, therefore, become indispensibly necessary. We accordingly lodged ourselves in a respectable looking mosque, one of those numerous momentos of mussulman sway which the disciples of the Koran have extensively scattered throughout Hindustan. The simple solidity of most of them is well calculated for duration. Contrasted, indeed, with the wretched appearance of the adjoining clay-built walls, they generally had an exterior of neatness, if not of elegance, which might not, perhaps, otherwise entitle them to a remark so favourable as that in the present instance. But it must be acknowledged that the followers, whether of Brimha or Mahomed, in the fervour of religious zeal, never forget the necessities of either traveller or stranger. The mosque has ever its adjoining serrai, and the pagoda its durrum salah, or choultry.

In the vicinity of our halting-place, in the almost exhausted channel of a nulla, we unexpectedly discovered a rill of water, transparent as chrystal, and fringed with a border of verdure so lovely, as to produce, in a mind almost tired out with the unvarying sun-burnt surface of the country round, some very pleasing sensations. Distance travelled this day only $1\frac{1}{2}$ kosse.

18th April.—At half an hour before day-light, we left the mosque at Kabour; and at 9 halted at Neslapour, distance 5 kosse; the road wild and hilly. Here we were within view of the lofty looking villages on the north bank of the Krishna. We breakfasted and dined at a pagoda, adjoining the village; and one hour in the afternoon brought us to the river, which we now crossed, not more than knee deep, at the village of Mangery, from Neslapour 1 kosse. Day's journey altogether 6 kosse. From the Guhtpoorbah to the Krishna is about $10\frac{1}{2}$ kosse, or 26 English miles.

The whole road distance, therefore, from Darwar

to the Krishna, must have been about 31½ kosse, or nearly 78½ English miles: occupying a period of 5 days and 1 hour.

On this occasion we must have crossed the Krishna a mile or two lower down than formerly, on our march to the southward.

We passed the night at Manjery; and here an accident had nearly deprived me for ever of the aid and society of my fellow-traveller; for being subject to fits, and dabbling in one of the deepest pools in the river, I observed him suddenly drop; and he would probably have been soon suffocated, if I had not immediately sent some of the people to his relief.

19th April.—Before day-break, we quitted the banks of the venerated Krishna. We kept the river for some time on the left hand, as we had formerly done to our right, the road being particularly good, over highly cultivated and productive plains. Between 9 and 10 o'clock we arrived at the village of Beizaul, after a pretty hot morning's work, distance 5 kosse. This was a day unpleasantly spent; our camels, through the mistake or inattention of the sarbaun, or driver, having passed by the village and gone on to Meritch. We were, therefore, constrained to continue our journey from Beizaul in the afternoon, when in about two hours we reached Meritch, 3 kosse further: the distance travelled this day altogether, 8 kosse from the Krishna, that is about 16 miles—the kosse N. of that river estimated at 2 miles.

20th April.—We remained at Meritch, and were visited by Antonio Joze Manoel, a Portuguese adventurer, in the service of Bala Saheb, the chief of Meritch. My fellow-traveller was permitted to enter the town; but too closely watched to make many observations.

21st April.—Still at Meritch. Considerably amused by Senor Antonio's narrative of adventures in sundry country services, and latterly in that of the Rajah of Collapour; whom, instead of "Hinduput Padshah,"

"Monarch of all India"—as he designated himself—he stiled "Hindu bhote chour," "of India, the greatest thief." To which, indeed, he had the greater claim, being chief of the greatest pirates on the coast of Malabar. Our poor Portuguese acquaintance was highly gratified by the instructions which he received from our cook, in the method of clarifying salt with whites of eggs; as he had been accustomed, hitherto, to use it in the earthy state, in which it is taken from the pit. We were, at the same time, not a little chargrined, by the fastidious inhospitality of the inhabitants of Meritch, and longed rather impatiently for the hour of departure.

22nd April.—We quitted Meritch before sun-rise—skirting through the north-eastern suburbs, we arrived at Oussagra or Oustangla, at nine: distance about 5 kosse. Taujegaum is stated to lay about 2 kosse to the eastward of us. We passed the day most agreeably under a splendid banyan, or wild fig-tree, the largest I had ever seen, immediately on the bank of the small river Eirulla, which ran at our feet. How much did we wish that, instead of remaining at Meritch, we had postponed our halt of two days, until we reached this pleasant spot. We continued our journey, however, in the afternoon, to the village of Yellaey, where we arrived after sun-set: distance 2 kosse.

We took shelter against an expected fall of rain, with which we had been threatened for some days past, in a mosque of very humble dimensions. In the evening we were entertained with the uninvited performance of a brace of ordinary dancing girls, whose attractions, there was very little virtue in resisting. After all, we passed the night amidst the combined annoyance of vermin and village curs. The distance travelled this day altogether, 7 kosse, or about 14 miles.

23rd April.—We quitted Yellaey about 5 in the morning; soon after which we entered a district of

such surpassing amenity, as to occasion an expression of deep regret at my paucity of language to do justice to the loveliness of the landscape. Surveying from an eminence in our way, the beautiful clumps of that most delectable of trees, the mango, dispersed over the plains to the westward of our route, and flourishing in the richest and most luxuriant foilage; the spectacle afforded so delicious a contrast with the arid bronze spread over the soil by a burning atmosphere, as for many a month my eyes had not been feasted upon. At 9 in the forenoon, we arrived at Ramapour, a miserable hamlet on the Eirulla, on the banks of which we had dined, so pleasingly the day before; distance from Yellaey, 5 kosse. We continued our journey in the afternoon to Wanghy—2 kosse.

We had now quitted the territory, subject to the authority of the Meritch branch of the Mahratta confederacy; and we passed the night, which proved both rainy and tempestuous, in a dilapidated mosque within the town, which belonged to the Purtinuddy chief. It retained the traces of having once been a place of some importance; but it was now in a ruinous condition. Distance altogether travelled this day, 7 kosse.

Sunday, 24th April.—We left Wanghy at daylight, and reached Hingungaum on the banks of the same Eirulla, already mentioned, about 9 in the morning—distance 5 kosse. The villages were frequent on either hand, as we journied merrily along. The numerous sugar-cane patches indicated that, as the produce principally cultivated by the inhabitants, and it was manifestly so to a considerable extent. At four in the afternoon we continued our journey to Poushasaoûly, where we arrived before sun-set—distance 2 kosse. In general, it may be observed, that throughout this district of country, the traveller may assure himself of finding a village at intervals of a kosse, or kosse and half. Our present halting place

also belonged to Buhgwan Rao Purtinuddy. Distance travelled this day altogether, 7 kosse.

25th April.—Remained in dull repose at Poushasaoûly.

26th April.—At 3 in the morning, resumed our journey by moon-light. About 5 o'clock we found ourselves descending an inconsiderable, but very rugged, gauht, which landed us, if I may be permitted the expression, in the southern extremity of the vale of Sattarah. We observed to our left hand, Raihmutpour; a considerable town, the mosque of which with its swelling dome, rendered it conspicuous at a great distance. We passed, also, in frequent succession, some pleasant villages, generally surrounded by luxuriant mango topes, and embosomed in the recesses of the hills, among which we now found ourselves engaged. I must, however, remark that the whole of the road, from the summit of the little gauht just mentioned, was the very worst we had yet measured in our course. It was, also, obvious to remark, that from the foot of the gauht, the villages presented a very different outline from what we had observed in those on extensive plains to the southward; which, however miserable in other respects, were generally protected by a clay-built wall, and commanding central tower. Those we were now passing, on the contrary, were entirely destitute of any thing that looked like defence; either tower, or wall. The vale of Sattarah is, in fact, so completely beset with rocky hills, as to be totally inaccessable to the irruptions of any considerable body of desultory cavalry: works of village defence, would therefore, appear to be superfluous.

At 9 in the morning we arrived, without halting, at Ningry, or Nigry, a village said to have been bestowed by Sevajee, on a fraternity of Gosseynes, whose successors continued still in possession.

In compliance with the importunities of my bearers, we had now been reluctantly persuaded to travel

only once a day, and to devote the remainder of the 24 hours to repose, notwithstanding our anxiety to get to the end of our journey. We, therefore, remained at Nigry, and passed the day, not unpleasantly, under the shade of the banyan, and mango trees. Distance from Poushasaoûly, 7 kosse.

27th April.—We quitted Nigry at 4 in the morning; and about 6, we passed Koragaum; distance 2 kosse. This was rather a flourishing village, which we intended to have made our halting place, instead of Nigry; but that it happened to be too long a stage for our bearers. The vicinity proved delightful, through its lovely groves of mango; and the same might be said of the environs of every village that now fell in our way. We also found ourselves once more in a country of brick and mortar, after having for nearly 12 months, been accustomed to the ruinous appearance of mud and straw. At 8 in the morning we reached Padree, or Padlee, distance 4 kosse. This was a very substantial looking village, in the bosom of the hills, where in the corner of an adjoining garden, under the shade of the ever delightful mango, we halted for the day. At a short distance N.E. lay Nundigurry, a hill fort, belonging to the Peshwa, which we thought to resemble the hull of a ship of war. Nearly opposite was another hill, exhibiting on its summit some places of devotion—distance travelled this day, 6 kosse.

28th April.—At 4 in the morning we left Padlee, and in about three-quarters of an hour descended a gauht, of which the elevation was not great. Between 5 and 6 o'clock we had a view, although an indistinct one, of the celebrated mountain fortress of Sattarah; the residence, but then prison-palace, of the true descendant of Sevajee, the legitimate sovereign of the Mahratta states, of whom the Peshwa was but the prime minister.

The fort appeared to crown the entire summit of a spacious and precipitous hill, and seemed very

formidable, both with respect to its defences, and the difficulty of approach. The town, or matchy, as such places here begun to be denominated, embraces the foot of the hill, on the east side.

About 8 o'clock, we came to a halt at the small village of Kikly, about a mile E. by S. of which lay the twin hill forts of Chundun-Wundun; which, from their exterior, would seem to bid defiance to any attack, and better calculated for the abode of the vulture than of any thing human; so confined is the space on their lofty summits. The whole of the road this morning was execrably bad, and the features of the neighbourhood altogether so wild and savage, that we could hardly avoid the conclusion that we were fallen among thieves. We passed, nevertheless, a very agreeable day, in an orchard of young mangoes, and in an elbow of the little river which ran close by. Our abode was, peradventure, rendered not the less attractive, from the rivulet being the resort of the village Rachels, to bleach their linen.

Between 3 and 4 in the afternoon, notwithstanding our recent stipulation, we prevailed upon the bearers to proceed on our journey; the road lying almost contiguous to the range of hills on our right hand, and continuing very bad, while the vale of Sattarah on our left exhibited a rich picture of fertility and population. During the whole of the way we looked in vain for even a transient glimpse of the sacred Krishna, which courses along the valley from end to end. At sun-set we reached the village of Serrour, or Serrour Kowta, to distinguish it from another place of the same name, distance 3 kosse; where, as we found it ever most desirable, we possessed ourselves of the shade of some luxuriant mango trees, apart from the village: although, significantly enough, we had been admonished to draw nearer, because the neighbourhood was exposed to the lawless outrages of some absconded sepoys in the service of the government; who, from irregular payment, had

adopted this system of indemnity. Distance travelled this day, altogether 8 kosse.

29th April.—At day-light we quitted Serrour Kowta, the road still rugged and bad to the foot of the Komautny gauht, which terminates the vale of Sattarah to the northward; this appearing to be about 20 kosse in length, or nearly 40 miles, from north to south.

We ascended the gauht in 10 minutes; but the descent on the north side occupied half an hour, referring of course, to the rate at which the bearers were carrying me. The road, both ascending and descending, was unusually good, and must have been formed at considerable labor and expence. For this the public were indebted to the liberality of the Rastah family, who were then possessed of extensive property in the Waevdeiss, leading from the south foot of the Komautny, westward, to the source of the Krishna. I have formerly noticed that an individual of this family was the acknowledged agent of the Mysore sultan, and consequently hostile to British interests. At the foot of the gauht to the northward, we found a durrum salah, or choultry, together with a handsome baoury, or large well, for the accommodation and refreshment of travellers; most probably the work of the same public spirited individual.

About 9 in the forenoon, we arrived at Kundalagaum, or Kundwaur, a miserable village, in a country not less miserable. Distance from Serrour, 3 kosse.

Here, being much annoyed by the baying of the village curs, in discharging a pistol which had been loaded for some time back, and, very stupidly, with a bended arm, the weapon recoiled, and struck me on the underlip. The orifice thus produced was the occasion of some pain, and greater inconvenience, for some days. My first inconvenience, however, was the loss of a good breakfast, for which the general freshness of the morning air, had given us excellent appetites. But I am afraid the incident occasioned

me a loss much more to be regretted—that of temper; for my poor friend Boyé having adopted a strange method of condoling with me, by bursting into a loud fit of laughter, when he must have observed my chin in a gore of blood, I was provoked to express myself with harsh and unnecessary warmth; considering how kindly he had attended to me during the whole of our journey.

After passing a very disagreeable day on this ill-omened spot, we quitted Kundwaur between 4 and 5 in the afternoon. The road was however, improving, through a country, the features of which were wild to savageness, without presenting any of that picturesque scenery so delightful to imagine; and which we are generally disappointed not to meet with in the recesses of a mountain district.

Between 6 and 7 in the evening we reached the village of Serroul, on the south bank of the Neira; which, even at that season, exhibited a considerable, and very refreshing, stream—distance from Kundwaur, 3 kosse.

The village itself appeared a place of some note; and the pagoda in which we took the liberty of quartering ourselves, was a handsome structure of hewn stone, and excellent masonry. In the night we were rather alarmed by the breaking down of a large branch of a neighbouring burr, or banyan tree, for which we could not account. I could not bring myself to think, that it broke down without some incumbent pressure. At all events it brought to mind the accursed tree of the Roman poet. Distance travelled this day altogether, 6 kosse.

30th April.—At 5 in the morning we quitted Serroul, much against the inclination of my bearers; and at 7 o'clock we reached the village of Kikvy—distance 2 kosse.

Here we were involuntarily compelled to halt, by the importunate solicitations of the bearers. This was not calculated to dispel the gloom which had

oppressed me for the last two days. At 3 in the afternoon we continued our journey to Sura, which we reached at 6 o'clock—distance 5 kosse.

Here, in a retired mango grove, we spent a pleasant evening. Distance travelled this day altogether 7 kosse.

Sunday, 1st May, 1791.—About 5 in the morning we left Sura. The road was good, leading along a narrow, but fertile valley; occupied, indeed, by an almost continued chain of villages, in the midst of groves of mango trees, to the foot of the Katreiz, or Katringe, gauht. This, at 7 o'clock, we ascended in 18 minutes. From the summit of this gauht we enjoyed a splendid view of Poonah, at that period the proud metropolis of the Mahratta confederacy; and certainly, interspersed as it was with innumerable cypress trees, the city presented a picture not less singular than it was pleasing to the eye. It is, however, melancholy to reflect that it was the burying-ground of the Mahratta empire.

Here, at the same time, I find myself indulging in the reflection that, at the moment I penned the thought, the name of an Englishman was as much respected, as, a very few years before, it was held in detestation, among these very Mahrattas. Neither is it to be forgotten, that for this favourable change, the English nation is indebted to the mild prudence, and straight-forward policy, of one man, and that man the British Resident. This tribute to the virtues of an honorable individual, who is long since gone to his reward, was recorded, I must observe, when Sir Charles Malet, then plain Mr. Malet, was a perfect stranger to the writer.

We descended the gauht in 57 minutes. The road excellent in its kind, being pitched with large stones, evidently a recent work; winding along the acclivities of the hill, in order to attain a gradual and easy ascent. About 9 in the morning we halted at the village of Katreiz, near the great bund, or reservoir,

constructed across the gorge of the valley, for the supply of the city in a period of drought. Distance from Sura, 4 kosse.

We spent the forenoon very agreeably among the shady mango trees, the balmy blessings of which we had frequently experienced during the journey, which was now fast approaching to its close. For all, I trust that we did not forget the gratitude due to *Him*, whose Providence never sleeps, and whose mercy is over all his works.

In the afternoon we left Katreiz; and about sunset, having crossed the river Moota above the city, we reached the British residency, at the Sungum, or confluence of the two rivers, the Moota and Moola, where we experienced from Sir Charles Malet, the most kind and most hospitable reception. Distance from Katreiz, 3 kosse; of the day's journey altogether 7 kosse, or about 14 miles.

The total distance from Darwar to Poonah, would, therefore, appear to be, by the route which we followed, 101½ kosse, or about 218½ miles: namely, from Darwar to the Krishna, 31½ kosse, at 2½ miles to the kosse=78¾ miles; from the Krishna to Poonah 70 kosse, at 2 miles to the kosse, about 140 miles. Our journey occupied in the whole a period of 20 days; but as we must deduct from these, 4 days and 1 morning of rest, the journey was completed, in fact, in 16 travelling days; averaging something about 13½ miles per day. By the map, Darwar appears to stand in latitude 15° 30'; and Poonah in about 17° 50'; a direct distance of about 2° 20'. This difference must be ascribed to the obliquities of the road.

CHAPTER XIV.

WEDNESDAY, 4th May, 1791.—A benevolent and unexpected proposal was this day made to me, on the part of Sir Charles Malet, to remain at Poonah, as provisional subaltern of the Resident's escort (or honorary guard) until the circumstances of the service should otherwise dispose of me. As it would have been insanity to decline, I most cheerfully acquiesced. This, after an active, and sometimes arduous, service of nearly 10 years, was the first and only favour I had then received from the hands of any public man. And I can with honest truth aver, that I have ever ascribed it to a humane compassion for my sufferings, rather than to any consideration of merit on my part.

But, the advantages which I derived from being thus thrown into the society of the most accomplished practical Persian scholar I have ever known; and whose virtues as an honorable man, and an able and upright statesman, I should have been proud to have made the rule and example of my life, were to me, I must ever acknowledge, of a value that I can never sufficiently appreciate.

At Poonah, then, the rainy season of 1791, was to me a period of peace and repose; while my brother officers to the southward were actively and arduously engaged in the duties of the field. I continued to experience from Sir Charles Malet, the most liberal and friendly attention, and his aid and encouragement in the only pursuit from which I could now hope to attain to any sort of distinction, was to me of the most essential service. His excellent Persian library was always open to me; and the injuries to which the most valuable illuminated manuscripts are

too often liable in the hands of beginners, rendered this indulgence doubly precious. He had in his suite, a Moghul Khaun, or nobleman, once high in station in the court of Dehly; and of the very highest attainments in Persian literature; several of the sons of this nobleman were also in Sir Charles' suite. He had, in particular, been the friend and associate of the celebrated Ghazi-ud-dein; celebrated, perhaps, as much for his crimes as for his abilities as a statesman. From his habits of constant personal communication with this old nobleman, Sir Charles Malet had become, what I have already described, the most practical Persian scholar I have ever met with. From among the followers of the old Khaun I engaged, at a salary, which perhaps, I could ill afford, a Moonshy, or Persian tutor; with whom during the rains, I read the greater part of Ferdoussy's immortal work—the Shahnamah—and with sufficient facility to enjoy its manifold beauties, and most interesting details.

I occupied the bungalah, or temporary dwelling, with its garden, belonging to Lieut. Jeremy Ward, whose appointment with the Resident's escort I now held, while he was serving in the commissary's department with the Bombay army under Sir Robert Abercomby, then in Malabar. Our family consisted of Sir Charles Malet, the Resident, at whose bountiful and hospitable table we all lived; with his assistant, Mr. Lankeet, Capt. Hearne, commanding the escort (who has since settled at Albany, in the state of New York) Dr. Findlay, the surgeon of the Residency, and myself.

7th Sept.—After returning from an exhibition of pugilists (or jetties) before his highness Sreemunt Mahadeu Raou, the Peshwa, we were publicly apprized by the Resident that we were shortly to take the field.

With regard to the performance of those athleta, I should state, that there is usually excavated for the

purpose, a circular pit, with perpendicular sides, about 7 feet deep, and perhaps 30 feet in diameter, the bottom well covered with sand. The jetties are naked, with the exception of a pair of very short drawers. Their hands are armed with a kind of cestus, made of horn, shaped into knuckles, and drawn on the fingers. The performance included both boxing and wrestling; and the performers on this occasion, had evidently been well and carefully trained The young Peshwa appeared to be delighted with the exhibition, and not the less so when the pugilists repeatedly saluted him as "Dehkan-ki-Badshah"—Emperor of the Dehkan. He was at this period scarcely twenty, and a very personable, engaging looking young man.

On this occasion, also, I may avail myself of the subject to describe, what was omitted at the time—the circumstances of the first visit on which I accompanied the Resident to court—which was shortly after my arrival at Poonah. I certainly did make some difficulty in being one of the party, from a feeling of repugnance to exhibit myself as a sort of spectacle in my mutilated state; but in this being overruled, I submitted to what, at the moment, I felt as a painful mortification; and, in the result, I had reason to be highly gratified.

As this visit happened to be one of extraordinary ceremony, on occasion of some important communication, with the nature of which it was not necessary that I should be acquainted, unless it were to urge the necessity of taking a more active part in the war against Mysore; it was conducted with particular state. The Resident, attended by the whole of his suite, European and native, and preceded by the escort of sepoys—about 80 in number—crossed the ford of the Moota; and proceeding through the middle of the crowded city, we came to the entrance of the palace, which looks to the east. This, leading through a lofty gateway, we passed to the left, along

a very ordinary colonade, which appeared, indeed, as yet in an unfinished state; and at the termination of this, a sharp turn to the right, brought us at once into the diwan khanah—or hall of audience. This was spacious and lofty, but perfectly simple, and without ornament, unless we except the usual carving in the wood-work. The side towards the area—which as far as I recollect was to the north—was entirely open, the roof being sustained by wooden pillars; and the floor was covered, from end to end, with a spotless piece of white calico. The young prince was seated on his regal cushion—or gaddy—his minister, the veteran and intelligent Nanna Furnoveis, on his right-hand, and other functionaries, and military chiefs, forming a semi-circle at the head, and one side, of the saloon.

As we were, in conformity with prior arrangements, all in satin shoes and silk stockings, we advanced without interruption, being, of course, announced by numerous choubdaurs, or silver sticks, towards the prince, who stood up to receive us; and having treated each of us, without exception, with the bug-gulguiry, or accolade—which was also done by the minister—we all of us then seated ourselves, as best we could, upon our hams—as much as possible concealing the soles of our shoes, which it would have been considered the extreme of indecorum to discover.

The Resident communicated with the Peshwa, through the minister, in a manner which appeared most cordial and unreserved. And I cannot forget the splendid display of jewels which decorated the person of the young prince; but more particularly a superb necklace, descending far down the breast, and consisting of alternate diamonds and emeralds, each fully as large as a nut-meg; which must have been of inestimable value. What became of the costly jewel, in the turmoil of a subsequent period, I have never learnt.

While we were thus seated we had full leisure to contemplate the assembly; which was sufficiently numerous, and composed of many of the most distinguished feudatories of the Mahratta state; and among others, that more particularly attracted our attention, was Manajee Fankra, long known to the Bombay army, for his reckless bravery. His grotesque appearance, on the present occasion, was peculiarly striking:—like the genuine Mahratta, he was naked from the waist upwards, with merely a loose scarf thrown over his shoulders. His face, breast, and arms, were so strangely painted in streaks of white and yellow, as might have *taken the conceit* out of the wildest of the red chiefs, of the American wilderness,—and certainly, when leaning on his shield, with a settled scowl upon his countenance, he exhibited an exterior of savage ferocity, whatever might have been the animating spirit. He probably argued, that after turning our backs upon him at Tullagaum, he scarcely expected to witness the cordial reception which we now experienced at Poonah.

After we had continued thus seated for some time, a tray was carried round; and to each of the gentlemen of the escort, were presented the materials for a khelaut, or dress of honor; consisting of a pair of Cashmirian shawls, a piece of kinkhab, or gold brocade, and a complement of white calico; all of which were delivered to our servants in waiting. A distribution of betel, and an aspersion of autter and rose-water, then took place; that on the Resident being made by the minister himself. We were now permitted to withdraw, and we returned in the same order, and by the same way as we came, to the Residency at the Sungum. And this, with the exception of the accolade, was the ceremonial observed on every other visit.

Sept. 9th.—Our information of the 7th, was this day confirmed by the display of the Peshwa's standard. —Mulhar Row, a son of the late Tooccojee Holkar,

who had for some time been in arms as a rebel, was brought a state prisoner into Poonah in the course of the day.

19th Sept.—The Peshwa, with a division of his troops, marched to Wannouly. Both this day and the day before, I experienced such symptoms of approaching disease, that I began to be alarmed, lest it might be a return of that tedious complaint, which had laid me prostrate about this time twelvemonth.

21st Sept.—I was confined to my quarters; and on the 22nd, my complaint was ascertained to be the measles. The attack of the disease was extremely violent, and for some 4 or 5 days, very oppressive. Its consequences at my age, were irksome, and in some degree, alarming.

Under the influence of this disheartening malady, and harrassed by bodily pain, my mind seemed to have recurred, with extraordinary vividness, to those circumstances of fancied felicity which I conceived might have been my lot, had the authors of my birth survived to the day; but more particularly as regarded my mother, whose memory I cherished with the fondest devotion. Often, indeed, when awakened from the intervals of sleep, obtained through the medium of opiates, have I found my eyes streaming with tears, because she was not living; that the son by whom she was adored, might with filial affection have administered to her comfort, and smoothed her descent to the grave. Neither did I fail to indulge the hope, that the spirits of the departed, now that the dross of human infirmity was dispelled from vision by the rays of eternal beneficence, would contemplate with approbation, the endeavour I was about to exert, in order to relieve my friendless brothers and sisters from the calamities of want, and perhaps distress, under which they were probably suffering. For this alone, at the moment, did I presume to supplicate for longer life;

and for this I besought that the finger of a beneficent Providence might continue to guide me through the mazes of my earthly pilgrimage, with unstained integrity.

Through the goodness of Heaven, however, and the unremitting medical attention of my friend, Dr. Findlay, the month of October found me rapidly arriving at convalescence.

6th Oct.—Our baggage and camp equipage were sent forwards on the road towards Waey; where it was announced that the Peshwa proposed to encamp, for the performance of some religious duty on the river Krishna; about 8 miles below the source of which, the town of that name is situated.

Sunday, 9th Oct.—I was sufficiently recovered to commence the journey towards Waey; the rest of the party being prepared to follow on the succeeding morning. I set off at 3 in the afternoon, and at half-after 6, I reached Yellou, a village about 1½ mile on the south side of the Katreiz gauht—having been an hour and 10 minutes in my ascent and descent; the road being, nevertheless, as easy and safe, as when I passed before the rains. The day's journey may be moderately calculated at 5 kosse, or 10 miles.

10th Oct.—Between 12 and 1 in the morning I proceeded on my way from Yellou, the road in several places deep and swampy; and I reached the village of Kikvy, about 4 o'clock, where I found the tents ready pitched for our reception. Here, it may be recollected, that Capt. Boyé and myself, on our journey from Darwar, were compelled by the bearers to spend the day.

The Resident, with the rest of the party, arrived between 9 and 10, to my sincere satisfaction; as I had not seen the face of any man, excepting that of my friend the doctor, for the last 20 days. The day was most sociably and agreeably spent.

About 2 or 3 miles N.N.E. of Kikvy, stands the celebrated mountain fortress of Poorunder, or Poonadurr (the key of Poonah) as it is sometimes called; which, although so near at hand, escaped our observation on our way from Darwar.

Leaving the Resident and his suite at Kikvy, at 4 in the afternoon, I prosecuted my journey alone and crossed the Neira, as formerly, at Serroul, at [illegible] o'clock. As the other members of the family travelled on horseback, and I was confined to a palanquin, this will account for my travelling alone. I arrived at the miserable village of Kundala, about 7 in the evening.

The distance from Yellou to Kikvy, I estimated at 6 kosse; from Kikvy to Serroul, rather less than 2 kosse; and from Serroul to Kundala, at least 3 kosse: altogether about 11 kosse, or 22 miles.

For this increased celerity of movement I can account, by the exchange of my ponderous miaunah for a light and rather elegant Mahratta palanquin. And I cannot in this place forget that I was indebted to Sir Charles Malet for an excellent camel, for the conveyance of my field equipage.

11th Oct.—At about 1 in the morning I left Kundala, and at 3, reached the summit of the Komautny gauht, having been 25 minutes in the ascent; the excellent road leading over this gauht is to be ascribed to the public spirit of one of the Rastahs. At day-light, I found myself descended into the pleasing valley that leads westward to the town of Waey; and highly delighted I was with its fertile and cheerful appearance. I reached Waey at 7 in the morning; but after passing through the town, becoming unexpectedly entangled among the people of the army, going out to forage, I did not reach our small encampment on the opposite side, or south bank, of the Krishna, about a mile above Waey, until about 8 o'clock. The Resident and party joined about

10; and the whole suite of tents being ready pitched for our reception, we found ourselves at once in all the comforts of home.

From Kundala to Waey, I estimate at 8 kosse, or 16 miles; and from Poonah, altogether about 24 kosse, or 48 miles.

About a kosse to the westward of the Komautny gauht, this morning, I passed the camp of Rung Row, entitled Rajah Bahauder; having young Mulhar Row Holkar in custody, as a state prisoner. The Peshwa, with his army, was encamped on the opposite, or north, bank of the Krishna, clear of our right flank. Being still only in a state of convalescence, I felt myself considerably fatigued with the journey.

12th Oct.—An eclipse of the moon, which took place some time this morning, occasioned the celebration of the Iatra, or festival, at the source of the Krishna; at Mahabaliser, or Mahabaliswara, said to be among the hills about 8 kosse to the westward. This festival, it is said, does not otherwise occur, more than once in a cycle of 12 years.

The town of Waey, at the period of which we are speaking, was of considerable importance; and then the property, either in fee or jaguir, of the elder brother of the Rastah family, by whom it was very magnificently edified, as was attested in particular, by several very neat stuccoed pagodas, apparently of recent date. This chief was stated to me as being the brother of the Peshwa's grandmother. According to all that I could learn he was the most liberal minded Brahmin, in the Mahratta empire, at that period in the zenith of its power. It was further stated to me that Waey was the place of birth of Mallojee Rajah, the father of Sevajee, the founder of the empire.

At a distance of about 2 kosse, in a southern direction, is Wyraudgurr, a hill fort, of apparently considerable strength. And in about the same direction, at the distance of 7 or 8 kosse, lies the royal fortress

of Sattarah. About 2 miles in a direction N. by W. is Pandugurr; and as many kosse, or 4 miles, perhaps, N.W. is Kundulgurr. Both of these latter belonging, nominally, to the family of the Rastahs, although now garrisoned, as we were informed, by the troops of the Peshwa. They are both mounted on inaccessible rocks; particularly the first and nearest at hand. But Kundulgurr is exposed to be commanded by another hill of equal elevation, apparently within cannon-shot. It is otherwise erected, like Pandugurr, on an inaccessible precipitous rock.

If we are to believe the fabulous traditions of the Hindus, the vale of Waey has been celebrated for the exploits of some of the most renowned heroes in their history; and more particularly of Pandu, the father of the five champions of the Mahabahrat. This hero, having slain in battle an antagonist of gigantic stature, of the name of Kentchek, had dragged the body to the summit of the eminence hard by; and the toe of the vanquished giant, or demon, or whatever else he may have been, was of such enormous magnitude, that in tearing it along, it ploughed up the very deep ravine which terminates near the entrance of the town from the eastward. Does the reader require proof of the veraciousness of this tradition? The large tumulus on the hill, N.E. of Waey, was formed of the body of the monster, and 3 of his companions, burnt to ashes by the conquerer. From thence springs the stream which flows along the ravine, and empties itself into the Krishna, a little below the town.

13th Oct.—Camp opposite Waey. To our equal disappointment and mortification, a report was now in circulation, that, instead of joining our friends to the southward, we were very shortly to return to Poonah. I must not omit to observe that the vale of Waey extends very nearly from N.W. to S.E. The hill forts of Chundun-Wundun, formerly noticed, being in sight at the extremity of the vale, nearly S. E.—distant about 6 kosse. I think that I have

already said that our small encampment lay not unpleasantly on the right bank of the Krishna, nearly opposite to the town.

14th Oct.—This forenoon the young Peshwa, accompanied by a numerous suaury, or cavalcade, left his camp for Mahabaliser.

It is not without regret that I observe, in my notes at this period, certain strictures upon the character of the Brahmins, much too severe to be conscientiously just. In short I appear to have contended, that with an exterior highly polished, and habits of personal purity, unrivalled, they were utterly devoid of sincerity in their professions; and in obtaining their object neither scrupulous in the means, nor easily diverted from the end; although accomplished through deeds of darkness and blood. When I drew those harsh conclusions, I must have been subject to frequent fits of hypochondria, in consequence of the use of those powerful opiates to which I was constrained to resort, under aggravated sufferings from my wound. Nevertheless, I am afraid that my opinions, although harshly expressed, were not entirely without foundation; while it would be unjust as well as illiberal not to acknowledge that there are yet to be found among this celebrated class, men of exalted integrity, and purity of mind, as well as of exterior: that there are among them still to be found, individuals perfectly sensible of the gross absurdities of Hindu idolatry; as well as disgusted with the abominable obscenities, with which, in too many instances, it is polluted. Witness the foul and revolting sculpture which disgraces some of their most celebrated temples. I have, at the same time, been assured by many a Hindu, that through the whole of this tissue of folly, and obscenity, their devotion is mainly directed towards the one supreme and eternal Being.

In conversation with one who knew them more intimately than any individual with whom I have

ever been acquainted—I mean our excellent Resident, Sir Charles Malet—I have frequently heard him state, with regard to the artful system usually employed by the wily Hindu in discussing matters of state, or inter-national policy, that if he had attempted to meet them with the same obliquities put in practice against himself, he would most assuredly have been foiled. He had therefore early determined to treat with them, inflexibly, in the straight-forward course of common sense, rectitude and truth, as the shortest and wisest way to the attainment of his views. And in this, I believe he was never defeated. But perhaps there are other classes of mankind with whom this were the better course, as well as with the followers of Brimha.

The Peshwa returned from his visitation at the source of the Krishna, at 4 in the afternoon of the same day. Our hopes of joining in the operations against Mysore were, by this time, completely extinguished.

Contrary to what I had been formerly led to conceive, that the Krishna, at its source, issued from five separate springs, I was now apprized that there are five distinct rivers, which take their rise near the same fountain head; some of which bend their course into the Kohkun, or territory below the gauhts; and particularly that which enters the sea at Bankoote, or fort Victoria.

17th Oct.—We accompanied the Resident this afternoon in state, on his visit to the royal tents; being the fourth occasion since my arrival at Poonah. On the present, we were received in an enormous marquee, of which it struck me, that the poles were certainly as large as the main top-mast of a 74-gun ship. The reception was, to all appearance, as cordial as on any former occasion.

The Rastah family at this time, occupying much of our attention. We were informed that it consisted of three brothers; of whom the eldst was some time since

dead. The eldest surviving brother was Anund Row; the second Lutchman, or Luximan, Row; the latter being the person with the remarkable acquiline, or Garuda* nose, who had seized on my attention at one of our former court visits. They were, as I have already intimated, brothers of Gopika Bhye, the grandmother of the young Peshwa.

The tumulus of the giant Kentchek, with the pagoda on its summit, at the foot of the neighbouring range of hills, stands almost due north of the town.

18th Oct.—At a private interview with the prime minister, every consideration was urged by the Resident to prevail upon him to put the army of the Serkar—(State)—in motion to the southward; but without effect. Our conclusion, therefore was, that some circumstance, with which we are not to be acquainted, must have occurred to produce this serious and embarrassing change; for when we quitted Poonah, the avowed object of our march was to support the operations of the southern armies.

In the course of the day I received several letters from Capt. Little's detachment, dated the 2nd of Oct. eight miles north of Chittledroog. The detachment was then in a state of inactivity.

19th Oct.—I was agreeably employed in writing to poor Ross, Moor, Boden, and Sholl. The Peshwa, attended by a numerous suaury—(retinue)—this afternoon ascended the hill on our left, to do homage at a pagoda, dedicated to Bowauny; and it was conjectured, that after a few more of those devotional visits, we should return to the metropolis.

It is mortifying to observe, from the tenor of my notes at this period, what deplorable inroads are made upon the temper by the frequent access of pain and sickness. At the time I had not, indeed, been sufficiently familiarized with either, nor corrected by

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* Garuda is the eagle-seat of Vishnu. When depicted as semi-human, the nose is made to resemble an eagle's beak.– ED.

the lessons of experience, so as to have acquired those habits of forbearance, so necessary to suit a quiet passage through life's precarious changes: otherwise I could not have suffered myself to be swayed by fancied ills, or imagined neglects, that never had existence, but in a mind diseased. The respectable individuals with whom I was associated, were men of such unquestionable moral excellence, and in their demeanor towards me, so uniformly considerate and indulgent, that at this distance of time I am quite at a loss to account for the asperity of some of my remarks: neither can I ascribe them to any other cause than the irritation arising from the already too frequent attacks of spasm in my limb, and the general effect thus altogether produced upon my constitution.

Sunday, 23rd Oct.—I experienced a most violent attack of cholera, or something very like it, the consequence supposed, of indigestion; and it is, perhaps, not to be wondered at that I should have given expression to some sentiments repining at that destiny, which rendered me thus the victim of repeated suffering. It is, nevertheless, some alleviation to observe, that these expressions are ever blended with humble resignation to the will of my Creator.

24th Oct.—After some hours of severe suffering, I found myself once more, through the aid of my medical friend, in a state of convalescence.

As I had been led to entertain the design of proceeding to Bombay by way of Bankoote, I could not but experience some disappointment at the information now conveyed to me, that the Brahmins had expressed an aversion to our visiting Mahabaliser; and as that sacred spot lay near the route which I must have taken, I found that under such circumstances, it would be worse than useless to make any application on the subject. And I, accordingly, relinquished the design altogether. The visit to Sattarah, once intended by the Peshwa, is said to be laid aside for the present.

25th Oct.—I was again painfully, if not seriously, indisposed, and I began to despair of the efficacy of medicine. In the frame of mind thus produced, it was perhaps, not unnatural to entertain some very deep-felt and awful speculations. Among others, a hope is expressed that the agonies of death may not be so appalling as we generally apprehend, and the opinion concurred in, that the frequent contemplation of the parting scene of life, must serve to render familiar the consummation of the awful event. For myself, I have long been persuaded that, as Heaven, in its mercy, "tempers the storm to the shorn lamb," so does it gradually prepare the mind of the dying, to view the features of the angel of death, without that dismay, which men in health are disposed to imagine. We also know, that while reason retains her seat in the human mind, we never cease to cling to the hope of recovery.

27th Oct.—The 1st day of the Diwauly, or festival of lights; in celebration of which the Peshwa's artillery fired a salute of 60 guns. The day was otherwise barren of incidents.

28th Oct.—This 2nd day of the Diwauly was more generally observed than the day preceding; being indeed celebrated in the family of our Resident. I was, I know not why, induced to express myself quite tired of moralizing.

An old and respectable North Briton, whose real name was Seton, though he choose to travel under the assumed name of Roberts, and in the guise of a Mahomedan, had recently visited the fall of the Gutpoorbah, near Gohkauk; the height of which he stated at 170 feet. This was just 100 feet more than my friend Boyé reported it, after his visit to the fall, on our journey from Darwar. But I have since heard it represented as still higher.*

* The writer of this note assisted in measuring it, by letting a plummet down from the top. It is 174 feet from the rock above, to the level of the water below.—Ed.

29th Oct.—This day some individuals of the Rasta family paid a complimentary visit to the Resident. One of these was the son of Gungader; the elder brother, deceased. The other was a boy, the sister's son of the brothers. That which followed was the 3rd, and concluding night of the Diwauly; on which occasion the Krishna was brilliant, with innumerable floating lights; borne along the surface of the sacred stream.

Sunday, 30th Oct.—This afternoon we attended the Resident on his visit to the chief of the Rastah family; agreeably to an invitation delivered on the preceding day. We were conducted in state, to a garden house, without, and retired from the town; and were received with every appearance of cordiality and welcome by Anund Row. We were conducted by our illustrious host, in the first place, to view his gardens; which were in very pleasing order as to shade, freshness, and verdure. He then led us into the principal pavillion; from the open upper saloon of which, handsomely painted and gilded, we were gratified by the refreshing air diffused around us by two beautiful fountains, which were made to play for our entertainment, to the height, as they said, of 8 cubits, or about 18 feet. This was accompanied by the sound of the softest flageolets I ever heard. The garden contained, moreover, a number of lofty, and very elegant, cypress trees. In short, by all I witnessed on the occasion, I became fully confirmed in my opinion of the taste and liberality of this, otherwise hostile, family. After some desultory conversation, on indifferent subjects, we received each of us a trifling present: the usual distribution of betal-nut and rose-water took place, and we withdrew; highly gratified with our reception, and the polished demeanor of our host.

31st Oct.—By a letter from Capt. Romney, of the Bombay European regiment (the brother of Romney the painter) addressed to the Resident, I was apprized

that the resolution of the Darwar detachment remaining in the field, regarding my appointment as agent for the distribution of the Mahratta donation, of a sum of money to that detachment, had been acceeded to by that part of the besieging force, which had returned to Bombay. This agency will, in other respects, afford me a sufficient plea for my intended visit to the Presidency.

1st. Nov.—This day twelvemonth* I experienced a mark of approbation more flattering than I conceived it likely ever again to be my lot; referring to the slight commendation bestowed upon poor Lonsdale and myself, in consequence of the action before Darwar, of the 31st Oct. 1790. Why a similar testimony was withheld from me for my conduct on the 7th Feb. 1791,† I have never been able to understand.

2nd Nov.—The table hill, S.W. of our encampment, was an object that had long arrested our attention; and Capt. Hearne, Dr. Findlay, and myself, agreed to pass the day on the summit. The town of Waey, and the soft flowing Krishna, were at our feet; and we were at the same time, well placed for a survey of the different objects around. At the distance of about 6 kosse, or 12 miles, W.N.W. and on a level with the most elevated, was Mahabaliser, at the head of the Krishna. The transverse hill, on the slope of which the stream commences, terminates the view in that direction; the descent into the kokun, beginning on the opposite, or western side. —N.N.W. at the distance of about 8 miles stands the hill fort of Kummulgurr (Lotus castle)—and about 6 miles, nearly due N. is Kundulgurr. Again, about N.E. distant 3 or 4 miles, we had Pandugurr; and N.E. by E. distant 12 or 14 miles, lay the Komautny gauht. The town of Waey, at our feet, lay nearly E.—To the S.E.—about 12 or 15 miles, stand

* See page 231. † See page 246.

the twin forts of Chundun-Wundun; formerly noticed on the journey from Darwar.—S.S.E. was the hill fort of Wyraudgurr; and beyond that, in nearly the same direction, distant 15 or 16 miles, appeared the important fortress of Sattarah.

The village of Mahabaliser, at the source of the Krishna, lay, as already intimated, on the eastern slope of the mountain; and was barely visible when pointed out by one acquainted with the spot; and one large pagoda was clearly distinguished through a telescope.

Although in itself a trifle, I could not omit to mention the pleasing surprise with which I discovered several patches of common fern, on different parts of the elevated spot, on which we were enjoying the freshness of the mountain breeze, and the variegated landscape on every side; destitute, however, of every vestige of that forest scenery so essential to the picturesque: the hills being entirely naked of wood. I could almost have compared my surprise at the sight of a single fern plant, to that of Robinson Crusoe, when he discovered the print of a human foot on the strand. Mine, however, was the surprise of an indefinable pleasure—that of poor Crusoe was one of terror and alarm.

In the forenoon of this day, notwithstanding what had been formerly intimated, the young Peshwa proceeded on his visit to the royal pageant at Sattarah. And he returned to his camp at 8 in the evening of the 4th.

As it had been determined some time since, that we were to retrace our steps to Poonah, without proceeding further to the southward; and the scenery around had now lost its novelty, I became anxious that our return should be as early as possible. Either from waywardness of temper, fancied slight, or perhaps the tedious monotony of our present course of life, my situation had, some how or other, become unpleasantly irksome; and I felt an unconquerable

desire for change of scene. A visit to Bombay seemed, therefore, a temptation not to be withstood. And to this object I clung with the fondness of childhood. It is not without the deepest mortification that I have rehearsed upon paper these ebullitions of morbid discontent. They were the reasonings of a mind diseased; which nothing but amended health, and hard-bought experience, could ever enable me to repress.

5th Nov.—This afternoon, for the first time, we accompanied the Resident, by invitation, on a formal visit to the prime minister, Nana Furnoveiss; by whom we were received with all the appearance of unaffected cordiality. There was, indeed, in the address of this veteran and able statesman, something so unsophisticated and engaging, that it was scarcely possible to approach him without a feeling of attachment and respect. He communicated, with evident satisfaction, the information which he had received of the capture of Nundidroog, by assault, on the 19th Oct.—by a division of our grand army.

7th Nov.—Still at Waey. It had been our intention to march as to-morrow; but a considerable fall of rain last night, and its continuance during this forenoon, had so completely saturated our tents with moisture, and inundated the roads, as to render a delay unavoidable. After having continued heavily throughout the fore-part of the day, the rain ceased in the afternoon; and the Peshwa, availing himself of the intermission, moved off, leaving his camp standing.

8th Nov.—We had rain until about 10 in the forenoon, when it ceased, leaving us fair weather for the remainder of the day.

9th Nov.—It was announced that our march was suspended for some days. The Peshwa had not proceeded to any distance, for he was privately visited by Sir Charles Malet, in the course of the afternoon.

At this period, I find some doubts expressed as to the utility of journal writing. Let this, however, not discourage those who come after me; since the habit is still most useful, if it were only for the self-knowledge, which must be the unavoidable result of the practice.

10th Nov.—The object of the Resident's private visit to the Peshwa last afternoon was, it seems, to announce officially, the reduction of Nundidroog; an event which was immediately acknowledged by a salute of artillery from the Mahratta park. The capture of this place, from its reputed impregnable strength, seems to have produced, throughout the country, a powerful impression of British prowess. It added another laurel to the brow of Maj. Gowdie, of the Madras establishment.

11th Nov.—The Peshwa commences his march for Poonah this day: the object of the previous delay having been to receive the visit of the Purtinuddy chief; who was to entertain the prince at Kannai, about one stage on his way to the metropolis.

12th Nov.—At 1 in the morning, I left our ground opposite Waey, on our return towards Poonah; the rest of the party to follow. I reached the Komautny gauht a little before day; passed Kundala, about half a mile to our left; and about 8 in the morning, came to our proposed halting ground at Tondla; the name given to two miserable villages on either side of the river Neira. The distance travelled this morning, estimated at 19 miles. Unfortunately for geograhphical science, we had not the advantage of a perambulator; so that our distances all along have been calculated on conjecture, formed on the space of time occupied, and the report of our guides. From Tondla, the Komautny gauht, bore S. by W. about 8 miles; and Poorunder N.W. distant about 6 miles. The day was agreeably passed on the river bank, which was beyond expectation pleasant, although

there was not a single tree for shade, with the exception of the spinous baboul,* which flourishes in the most sterile, as well as in the richest, soil.

Sunday, 13th Nov.—We left the Neira at 1 in the morning, and about 3, I reached a place called Purreitcha; where, having accidentally separated from the party who had taken a different road, I found myself at a loss for a guide. One of the villagers, however, was, with some difficulty, persuaded to become our conductor; and about 4 in the morning, we ascended by an execrable road, a very craggy pass, the descent of which led us into a savage Salvator Rosa sort of scene, of rocky hills and glens: among which we became completely bewildered for a couple of hours.

In the midst of these sequestered glens we passed two obscure villages; the first called Pingoury. The name of the other I did not learn. Aurora had finished strewing her roses, before we began to ascend the other rocky pass, leading out of these savage recesses to the northward. This pass itself is called Kour Kimm. The road at the summit is cut through the solid rock, to the depth of, perhaps, 15 feet; and barely wide enough for the passage of a palanquin. Hence the prospect opens upon plains which extend beyond the horizon; pierced into from the westward by prominent hill ranges, subsiding into rich plains; with here and there insulated hillocks, protruding themselves as the ranges sink into the plains. This is the common feature, at about the same distance, every where from the main range of the great western chain of the gauhts.

Descending from the Kimm, I descried the town of Sassour; which I remembered to have seen mentioned as a place of some importance, in the operations of the siege of Poorunder, and of the wars with Sevajee, in the early history of the reign of Aurungzebe. At that distance, at all events, it appeared

* A species of accacia.

respectable; bearing W.N.W. 6 or 8 miles. About a mile further on, and turning to the right, or eastward, round the base of the hills, I reached Jejoury, about 7 in the morning. The distance travelled altogether, about 12 miles.

To the caste of genuine Mahrattas, Jejoury is a place of great religious resort; the principal pagoda, of which stands on a conspicuous eminence, at the back of the town, being a polygon, similar to that on Pahrbutty, at the western extremity of Poonah. Part of this at Jejoury has a balustrade at the top. The ascent to the pagoda is by a broad flight of stone steps, 390 in number, and leading through several gate-ways, bearing the resemblance of so many triumphal arches. The structure itself is dedicated to Kundooba, Kundooba rundup, or Kundoo Row; the tutelar deity of the Holkar family. Mulhaur Row, a celebrated Mahratta chief, still celebrated as the hero of his caste, and ancestor, by adoption, of Tooccojee Holkar, the adopted only of Mulhaur's widow, had the principal share in endowing and edifying this temple, sacred to the god of love. To the service of the temple, and the amusement of its ministering Brahmins, are devoted an extraordinary number of singing and dancing girls, here called moorlie; who will be found not a little importunate in exacting contributions from the traveller, of whatever caste, or complexion. In a rock, within the pagoda, is shown a cleft, and the rock itself is described as the transformation of a maiden; whom, at a period beyond the record of history, this sensual divinity had in vain endeavoured to seduce. The gateways are continued from the pagoda, to an obelisk on the point of the hill in the rear; from whence it is said that the god, in dislike of his former residence, took a leap to his present abode.

The Kimm, through which I passed in the morning, seems to form a sort of coronet to that mountain range, on which Poorunder displays its awful brow:

and Jejoury is seated on a spur, which projects from it to the N.E. The adjoining town is inconsiderable; but there are 2 or 3 noble tanks, one of which I viewed, and it was 250 paces square; excavated in the solid rock.—This was the work of Holkar. But another on the opposite side of the town, done at the expense of the Peshwa, was said to be of twice the magnitude.

From Jejoury, the bearing of Poorunder, and Roodermaul, its adjunct, was due west; distant 8 or 9 miles: that of the Devy gauht, N.W. by W. about 9 miles—that of the little Bhour gauht, N. by E. about 10 miles; and that of the town of Sassour, in the plain, W.N.W. 5 or 6 miles.

14th Nov.—We left Jejoury at half-after one in the morning; the road unusually good, and admitting of our moving at the rate of 3 and 4 miles an hour; palanquin, or bearers', pace. About 3 miles from Jejoury, we crossed the Kurra—perhaps, Karanuddy—a sluggish river; the course of which is eastward, through the plain mentioned yesterday; and about 2 miles to the southward of the chota, or little, Bhour gauht, is the village of Raujewary; from which the gauht sometimes takes its name. The gauht is descended by a road practicable for wheel carriages, leading immediately into the Poona-deiss—or vale of Poona. We reached Werty, our halting-place, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the foot of the gauht, at half-after 5 in the morning. Distance travelled, between 11 and 12 miles.

15th Nov.—Between 12 and one in the morning we proceeded from Werty, and in 2 hours arrived at Loony; distance 5 miles. In one hour and 50 minutes, the road being very good, we reached Furruk (or Hurrup) seir—distance 6 miles; and in one hour and an half more, viz. between 5 and 6 in the morning, we safely entered our cantonments, at the Sungum: the last distance $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 miles.—The morning's journey in all, 15 or 16 miles. Altogether, from Waey to

Poona, by this route, is 58 miles; or 10 more than by the former.

16th Nov.—The Peshwa arrived this afternoon, and about 9 at night, he entered the city in state: and thus terminated our mimic campaign, having occupied altogether from the 8th Oct. to the 16th Nov.—a period of 38 days. In the course of the day I received letters from my friends Moor and Boden.

CHAPTER XV.

HAVING sometime since determined on visiting Bombay, I left Poona for that Presidency, between 12 and 1 in the morning of the 22nd Nov. 1791; and reached the village of Ound, on the river Moolla, at half-after 2 o'clock—distance 3 miles. I immediately crossed the river, which was mid-thigh deep, from the rain which had been falling for some days. Proceeding thence we unaccountably lost the road; and regained it on our arrival at Chitchoury, This is the place which, some years afterwards, my friend Maj. Moor described* as the abode of the then living incarnation of Vishnou; that proof of the monstrous credulity of an ignorant people, and of the impostures practiced upon them by a crafty priesthood.

About 1½ mile from Chitchoury, a little below the village of Raya, we crossed at day-light the Powna, which we found also flooded. The distance from Ound I estimated at 6 miles. At half-after 8 o'clock, we reached the great tank, or reservoir, at Tullagaum; the *ne plus ultra* of the unfortunate *field-deputy expedition* from Bombay—distance from Raya 8 miles. The intermediate district of country almost a continued descent to the westward; well cultivated, and covered with verdant crops. At 10 in the forenoon we arrived at Wurgaum—distance 2½ miles; and altogether from Poona 19½ miles, in 9 hours and 30 minutes.

Here my palanquin was located for the day, by the side of Pettubah's, or perhaps, Vittubah's, tank; a stagnant pond, surrounded with weeds and rubbish, fit only for the abode of snakes, and every sort of reptile.

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* Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. Art 14.

This miserable hamlet, with the adjoining pagoda, had been rendered memorable for the celebrated treaty known by the same name; and by virtue of which the Bombay army (on the occasion just alluded to) was permitted to prosecute its retreat, without molestation, down the Bhour gauht. This part of my journey, owing to the unusual fall of rain, was deep and miry throughout, to a degree of inconvenience.

23rd Nov.—At one in the morning, we left the wretched village of Wurgaum; the road skirting the hill-range to our left hand, until turning to the southward, round the peint, we entered the valley of Lohgurrkenn, the rocky stratum of the road rendering it irksome travelling in the night. At half-past 5 in the morning we reached Carla, or Corelly, distance 9 miles. Near this village, during the advance of the unfortunate expedition above alluded to, Capt. Stewart, of the Bombay establishment—for his forward courage, called Stewart Fankra—was killed. At the distance of about 5 miles down the pleasant valley, we passed the village of Wulwan, nearly opposite to the two formidable hill forts of Lohgurr and Issapour, standing within cannon-shot of each other, on the mountain to the left hand. At a quarter before 9 o'clock we arrived at Kundala, the village which lies about a mile, within the head, or to the north of the summit, of the great Bhour gauht—distance from Wulwan 6½ miles. A few miles N. byW. of the head of the gauht, forming a steep and stupendous chasm, stands the hill fort of Raujematchy; and nearly opposite, in a southern direction, will be seen a cloven peak: which, for some time, according to your movement, assumes a resemblance to the crest of a helmet. Distance altogether from Wurgaum to the head of the gauht, would thus be 21¼ miles, in 7¾ hours.

Proceeding down the gauht without delay, we were inconveniently obstructed in our descent by numerous

strings of bullocks, employed in carrying sundry articles of commerce from the maritime districts below. The descent, therefore, occupied 2 tedious hours of time: the computed distance to Kappouly, at the foot of the gauht, about 5 miles. The total distance from Wurgaum may, therefore, be estimated at 26½ miles—or 9 hours and 45 minutes.

We took up our abode for the night at a neat small pagoda, by the side of a remarkably handsome tank, lined with excellent masonry; both pagoda and tank constructed at the expense of the father of Nanna Furneveiss, about 40 years prior to the date at which we then wrote, which would make it about 1752.

24th Nov.—We left Kappouly, commonly called Campouly, between 12 and 1 in the morning. We crossed 2 or 3 rivulets—the road rugged and wearisome, on our way to Kollapour, which we passed at 3 o'clock—distance 6 miles. At 20 minutes before 6, we reached Chouk—distance 8 miles. We then passed Barou, where was a pond covered with wild duck, and other aquatics—4 miles; and at 10 in the forenoon, we arrived at the town of Panwell—6 miles: from Kappouly 24 miles; and from Poona, altogether, 70 miles; in 28 hours and 40 minutes of actual travelling.

25th Nov.—Having left Panwell during the night, in one of the country fishing-boats, I arrived at the Bunder-head, at Bombay, at gun-fire in the morning. Landing shortly afterwards, I found a kind and hospitable reception, at Mr. Robert Lewis's, of the civil service; who had undertaken the no very lucrative office of being my agent.

From this date, to the 28th of Dec. I remained at Bombay; where I experienced from many individuals, of whom I possessed but little previous knowledge, marks of kindness, to which I had but small claim; particularly from Mr. Patrick Craufurd Bruce; to whom I had, indeed, been recommended

by Sir Charles Malet. Many years afterwards, on my return to England, it was to Mr. Bruce through the same introduction, I became indebted for my allowance from the contingent military fund, incidental to my loss of limb. During this short intermediate period, I made my first remittance to my brother and sister; which I was enabled to do through the kindness alone of my brother officers, in appointing me their agent for the distribution of the donation, presented by the Mahratta government, to the troops employed in the siege of Darwar. At the same time that I wrote to my brother, I wrote also to my old friend Capt. Carpenter, and to poor old Lonsdale; who was, probably, no longer living.

28th Dec.—At noon, I made sail from Bombay on my return to Poona; and at 3 o'clock reached Bellapour, the small fort at the mouth of the Panwell river. As our rate of sailing was scarcely less than 5 miles an hour, the distance from the Bunderhead, to Bellapour, could be little less than 20 miles. That remarkable object, the Funnel-hill, bore from Bellapour, nearly S. by E.—distant about 12 miles.

We were detained at this paltry post; an inconvenience, it seems, incidental to the transit stations of every government, until 4 o'clock; the peon, or sepoy, being required to go to the house of the Zekkatdaur, or collector, in order to exhibit his dustuck, or passport. In consequence of this vexatious detention, it being now ebb tide, our boat got aground at 6 o'clock. In this dilemma I determined to land; and so traversing the swampy marsh on the north side the river, among the mangrove bushes, and repeatedly losing the way, to the great annoyance of my bearers, it was 8 at night before we could reach Moulla Husseyne's house at Panwell; and even then not without considerable difficulty, in the obscurity of the night. The Moulla's curry was, as usual, sufficiently palatable; but whether from fatigue or irritation, I ate but little; and my irritation was not

abated by the importunities of my retinue, that we might not set off in the morning before 9 o'clock. The pretext was, that coolies, or baggage bearers, were not to be procured for the conveyance of my very moderate equipment; consequently my repose was rather perturbed.

29th Dec.—Nevertheless, at a quarter before 2 in the morning, I quitted Panwell; and at 9 o'clock I found myself at Kappouly, the village at the foot of the Bhour (or Bhore) gauht. Having slept for the greater part of the way, I was just sensible that we had made 3 halts on the road, of about a quarter of an hour or 20 minutes each; therefore, not more than 6 hours and a quarter in actual movement. My equipage, trifling as it was, did not arrive until 3 in the afternoon. Time of travelling 6½ hours.

30th Dec.—I quitted the tank at Kappouly, and commenced the ascent of the Bhour gauht, head foremost in my palanquin, at 10 minutes before 2 in the morning. The wind was rushing in bleak and violent gusts down the ravines and chasms. We passed the first Derwazah, or barrier, 5 minutes after 3; the ascent thus far being the steepest and most difficult in the gauht: as from thence, upwards, there is, in several parts, a short landing-place, or level ground, to take breath upon. About a quarter before 4 in the morning, we had gained the summit; having been just 1 hour and 50 minutes on the ascent. I had scarcely gained the summit when a beautiful and very brilliant meteor shot across, from N.E. not 50 yards behind me, and not many more in height, shedding, as it exploded, the most sparkling scintillations. Its approach was so near that I took it at first for a rocket, and I certainly did conceive at the time that I heard it hissing through the air; though this might be occasioned by the flaming of my massauls (torches, or links). At 4 we halted to rest at the Chouky, or guard-hut, at Kundala, for about 20 minutes; after which we continued our

journey to Karla—or Karley, which we reached at half-after 6 o'clock. This is a pleasant, well shaded village, almost in the middle of the valley, not more than a mile from the foot of the hill on which is seated the fort of Issapour; in appearance, not more than cannon-shot to the E. of the neighbouring greater fortress of Lohgurr, on the same range. On the side of the opposite range, at a considerable distance from the bottom, is the celebrated cavern temple of Karley; although I was not then aware of its existence. I need not add, what is now sufficiently known, that it was the work of the disciples of the ancient creed of Bouddah.

From Karley, at 10 minutes before 7, we moved on to the banks of a small river, on which, at a ¼ before 8 o'clock we again halted; my people availing themselves of the opportunity to enjoy a hasty repast by the waters of this refreshing stream. 38 minutes after 8, refreshed by their morning's meal, my bearers renewed their exertions with increased alacrity; and having continued our course for a short time, we came to the Inderany; between which, on our left hand, and the range of hills close to the right, we pursued our journey without halting; the road being, nevertheless, very rugged and distressing to the bearers. It was along this track I have been of opinion, that the Bombay army, on the unfortunate march from Tullagaum, might have successfully prosecuted their retreat to the Bhour gauht, without submitting to the humiliating treaty of Wurgaum.

At half-past 10 in the forenoon, we reached the old pagoda at Wurgaum. The baggage did not arrive until about 2 in the afternoon. I have hitherto omitted to notice a remarkable conical hill, in the middle of the valley, nearly half-way between Tullagaum and Wurgaum; which commands an extensive view both to the E. and W. Time of travelling this day, 7 hours and 40 minutes.

During these 2 days, we had the morning star and sun on the right of the fore part of my palanquin;

and I therefore concluded that our course must have generally led to the N.E.

31st Dec.—Between 12 and 1 in the morning, we left the miserable pagoda at Wurgaum—passed the great tank at Tullagaum at half-after 1, and made a short halt at 3. We then continued our journey to the Powna, which we crossed at 4. At 6 in the morning, at Ound, formerly mentioned, we also crossed the Moolla: which it is needless to add, is the same river that passes under the Sungum, where it unites with the Moota. At 6, we rapidly continued our journey, and at 7, I rejoined the social circle at the Residency.

During this day's journey we had the morning star and sun on the left of the fore part of my palanquin, until we passed over Gunniskenn—the gap in the range N. W. of Poona, so called; hence I concluded that our course must have been nearly S. E. —and that the city of Poona cannot be much more than 15 or 20 miles south of the parallel of Bombay. This last day's travelling time, 6 hours and 20 minutes: altogether from Panwell, 20 hours and 42 minutes; just 8 hours and 2 minutes less than on my journey downwards.

CHAPTER XVI.

Now, for a time at least, definitively settled at Poona, I received on Friday, the 6th of January, 1792, letters from Ross and Boden, dated the 22nd of Dec.; announcing the capture, by Little's Detachment, of Hooly Honore, by assault, on the preceeding morning of the 21st. My brave friend Ross had himself ascertained the proper spot for descending into the ditch the night before.

Sunday, the 8th Jan.—Accounts were this day received that the important fortress of Mahgree had also been taken by storm, on the same 21st of Dec.

10th Jan.—Advices were conveyed to us from Capt. Little's detachment, that on the 29th of Dec. after a severe and obstinate conflict, they had totally defeated a division of the Sultan's troops, consisting of 7 coshouns, strongly posted near Gajnour; and captured 11 guns with 2000 stand of arms, and the whole of the camp equipage. But it was not without the deepest regret that I became apprised of the death of my gallant, and distinguished, and every way excellent friend, Ross; who fell in his arduous duties as Major of Brigade, on that day; the 7th from the date of his last letter to me. On this last occasion, also, he had the night before, alone, and at imminent personal risk, examined the position of the enemy; and in the course of the attack, while at the head of one of the divisions, indicating the point to assail, he received a grape-shot in the head, which, in an instant, put a period to his hopeful career; for had he survived, I cannot doubt that he would have been to our service one of its brightest ornaments.

13th Jan.—I received from Boden a letter confirming the above account. It was in this action, so creditable to the Bombay troops, and in which he held a distinguished share, that my friend Major Moor received that wound in his elbow, from which he is a sufferer to this day. At night our Resident became apprized, by a message from the Palace, that the fort of Simouga, not far from the scene of the above action, had surrendered to the allied troops, under the Bhow and Little.

25th Jan.—I received from Capt. Little, a letter, enclosing a copy of my poor friend Ross's will; wherein he devised to me his collection of Persian manuscripts, and Richardson's Dictionary. I could not be otherwise than flattered by such a mark of regard, from an individual of his distinguished merit.

Up to this date our arms appear to have been crowned with universal success, untarnished with any scenes of cruelty or outrage. Outradroog and Sevundroog had fallen in rapid succession, to the army under the auspicious command of the brave and virtuous Lord Cornwallis; and Anantpour to the allied force under Prusram Bhow, who was, however, said to be on his march towards Bednour; instead of proceeding, as he was enjoined and expected to do, to unite himself with the grand army, on its march against Seringapatam Perhaps I was then justified in considering that, under God's providence, we had little to apprehend, as to the final issue of the war; unless we became the victims of some unforeseen calamity, some blind security, or insane contempt, for the resources of the common enemy.

4th Feb.—We, nevertheless, experienced at this date considerable anxiety, from the infrequency and uncertainty of our information of the army in Mysore; of which for many days past we had heard but little or nothing. A vague rumour prevailed at the same time, that the Sultan had left the capital in

force; and some apprehensions were awakened as to the situation of the Bombay division, under Gen. Abercromby. Another report stated, that the Sultan had taken position, which was not very likely, on the very ground from which he had been driven on the 15th of May, 1791, to the eastward of the Carrigat Hill. Amidst these conflicting reports we were altogether persuaded, that, somewhere or other, he would still make a resolute stand, when brought to bay, and while the retreat was yet open to his island capital. Under all circumstances, however, we thought it pretty clear that the conflict now on hand would be a momentuous one; and probably attended with great sacrifice of human life. Of Lord Cornwallis's final triumph, we, however never harboured the slightest doubt.

7th Feb.—The anniversary of my wounds: which brought with it, of course, some sorrowful recollections. This it ought to be my endeavaur to discourage; as equally useless, and ungrateful for the mercies so graciously extended to me.

I shall not here repeat some further, very harsh and over-wrought, strictures, on the Brahmin character. In this I was, probably, too much influenced by the following circumstance, which occurred at a recent period.

The kotwal, or prefect of police, of Poonah, whose name, as far as I can remember, was Gaussy Ram, had, for some nocturnal irregularity or other, put into confinement certain Telinghy Brahmins; in a place, however, so extremely close, that one of them was suffocated to death, This excited against the unfortunate kotwal, an outcry so fierce and violent, that the timid government yielded to the clamour, and gave him up to the fury of those who called for vengeance against him. On the open space, eastward of the town, and nearly opposite to the British Residency, and by the side of the very tank, called Gaussy Ram Tullaou, which he had himself made

for the convenience of his fellow citizens, these Telinghy Brahmins, with their own hands, and with circumstances of ferocious cruelty, stoned him to death. That this barbarous and sanguinary execution should have produced upon my mind, for the time, an impression unfavourable towards a caste for which I had in general been disposed to entertain the highest opinion, as to mildness and horror of bloodshed, is, therefore, neither strange nor unaccountable; and I can remember that at the moment, the fact excited in our small circle, equal disgust and horror.

At this period, also, the absence of all active employment was producing in my mind the usual feelings of discontent, and a desire for change; and I found myself querelously wishing for some quiet retreat, remote from the busy scenes of life.

12th Feb.—Positive information was this day received that Futtah Ally—the appellation sometimes applied in the native official papers, to Tippoo Sultaun—had actually his vakeils or envoys, in the British camp, negociating for peace. Whatever were the fact on this interesting point, matters must then have been considered as approaching some awful crisis. Our hopes seemed to rest more especially on the manly firmness of the brave and virtuous Cornwallis; which we contemplated as a pledge, that he would not suffer his efforts to be baffled in his councils by the temporising policy of a half-civilized and sanguinary barbarian. It was, at the same time, truly conjectured, that as this day, the British ensigns were floating before the walls of Seringapatam. Let it not for a moment be supposed, that these speculations are the result of after thought; they were our *bona fide* reasonings at the time; and I only bear faithful record to the truth.

In a letter from Lieut. Emmett to Sir Charles Malet, we perused, with particular interest, a very glowing and elaborate description of the ruins of

Milputtun; the ancient city of Anagoondy, so called; and the seat of the Gudjputty Rauje on the Toombudra. Within the circumference of 8 miles, which is the stated compass of this ancient city, long since merged in that of Bijanuggar, we have enumerated such a multiplicity of magnificent ruins—consisting of temples, colonnades, aqueducts, and shaded streets—the edifices generally of hewn stone, in many instances elaborately sculptured—that we are almost persuaded the account we are reading is that of some magnificent dispeopled city in a fairy tale; with the advantage of knowing the description has its foundation in the strictest truth. I have in my possession a gold coin of the Gudjputty Rauje, or sovereignty of Anagoondy; the device of which, as the name implies, is an elephant; and which was stated to me, as being, at least a thousand years old.

There is one circumstance, which although it occurred some months prior to the period of which I am writing, yet as it did occur but that once in my presence, during a residence in India of nearly 24 years, I cannot in this place omit the opportunity of describing. I am speaking in reference to a sutty, or the self-immolation of a Hindoo widow, on the funeral pile of her departed husband.

One forenoon, our attention at the Residency was attracted to an unusual concourse of people, assembling on the low strand of the Moota river, just opposite to the Sungum. And, we early discovered the object, in observing a sort of hut, formed of bamboo, and dry juwary straw, near the river side, which had been erected over a funeral pyre of a deceased Hindu. After some delay, we beheld a female, decorated in her gayest apparel, and almost entirely covered with garlands of flowers, approach the hut; conducted by a group of Brahmins, by whom, after some affecting preliminaries on her part, she was assisted into a sort of upper chamber in the hut;

where she seated herself by the body of the deceased. This was the self-devoted widow. The materials of the hut, sufficiently combustible of themselves, had been rendered as much as possible more so, by a quantity of oil and ghee poured over them; and the moment the burning brand was applied, as it was asserted by herself, the whole was instantly in a blaze. The smoke and flame ascended amidst the noisy music of the natives, and the scene was over.

The breadth of the river being between us, we were spared the horror of witnessing this act of self-immolation in all its sickening peculiarities. In this instance, the widow did not appear to be very young; and when we consider the humiliating circumstances to which a Hindu female is exposed on the death of her husband, it is not surprising that an instance should sometimes occur, in which the supposed transit to immortal glory, should be preferred to a life of servitude and degradation. I must, at the same time, not omit to remark, that in the very focus of Brahmanism, the metropolis of the Mahratta empire, with a population of perhaps 100,000 souls, this was the only instance of the kind that occurred during the period of more than 12 months that I resided on the spot.

What it was that originated this appalling practice of self-devotion, has, I believe, never been ascertained. Possibly it commenced in the heroic affection of some devoted widow, in a paroxysm of grief on the loss of a beloved husband. As far as I am aware it is not contended for as a precept of Hindu law. One powerful motive for the sacrifice may, however, be that it confers a species of canonization: the honor of which attaches for ever to the family of the sutty. That the practice had its origin in the remotest periods of antiquity, we have it in proof in the Mahabahrat; in which it is expressly stated that several of the wives of the immortal Krishna

immolated themselves on the demise of their lord; and that celebrated poem dates at least a 1000 years anterior to the era of Christianity.

15th Feb.—Accounts were received at the Residency, that on the 25th of Jan. the visit of ceremony had taken place between Sekunder Jah, a son of Nizam Ally, and Lord Cornwallis; and that on the day following, the united armies had marched directly on Seringapatam. A day or two previous to this, advices had also been received that Prusram Bhow had relinquished his predatory design against Bednour, and the lines of Futtah Peint; and that he was at last bending his course towards a junction with our illustrious British chief. The enemy in the lines of Bednour fired a salute on their deliverance.

22nd Feb.—I wrote this day to my friend Lieut. Moor, at Hurrihurr, our sick post on the Toombudra; where he had been compelled to remain in consequence of a severe wound in the elbow, received in the attack of the enemy's position at Gajnour, on the 29th of Dec. An account of this very brilliant action will be found in his interesting Narrative, of the Operations of Capt. Little's detachment, written when he was under 22 years of age.

Sunday 26th Feb.—A report was communicated this forenoon, from the palace, as having been received from the court of Hyderabad, that Sekunder Jah, had driven the Mysore Sultan into Seringapatam. This, then, after the lapse of 20 days, was the earliest intimation that reached us of the signal victory achieved on the night of the 6th of Feb. over the Sultan's army, stationed in the lines before the capital. And thus we find this momentous triumph most whimsically ascribed to the Nizam's general!—But what is just as whimsical and fallacious, this is the light in which I have no doubt, it will be represented in the Tarikh Nizammiah, or "Annals of Hyderabad."

Be this, however, as it may, the truth could not long be prevented from bursting upon us; for the

very same evening, a letter from Mr. Stewart, the acting Resident, at Pangool—where the Nizam's court then was—was received, announcing the important information that on the night of the 6th of Feb. Lord Cornwallis, had victoriously forced the lines on the north bank of the Cavery before Seringapatam; and driven the whole of the Sultaun's troops across the river into the island; and within the very precincts of his capital.

The effect which the detail of the circumstances of this most important victory produced upon our small circle, at the Residency, it would be difficult to describe. We expected, indeed, a triumphant result to the operations of our army; but this seems to have surpassed our expectations. We did not hesitate to pronounce it equal to any recorded in British history. But when we perused the authentic and splendid details conveyed in the Madras Courier Extraordinary, published on the occasion, our exultation was carried almost to extravagance. The events of that momentous night have, however, long since become a part of our national history; and it would be superfluous to dwell any further on the subject, in these transient memorials. They crushed, in the issue, the strength of the most powerful and inveterate adversary of the British nation in India: and paved the way to that concluding triumph, which on the 4th of May, 1799, destroyed the tyrant, and placed his capital at the mercy of British valour.

29th Feb.—We attended the Resident on his public visit at court; in order to communicate, in form, the facts of the above important event, to his highness the Peshwa; who (under correction) seemed to receive the account with an apathy little corresponding with the feelings which animated our little party. He appeared, however, to intimate to the minister, by whom he had doubtless been instructed, that a salute of 50 guns was scarcely adequate to the importance of so splendid a victory. On this occasion

I could not avoid noticing, with more than ordinary attention, some particulars in the habiliments of the young prince. He wore a snuff-coloured turban, of the Brahmin fashion; in which was a serpeitch, or demi-circle, of gold, containing a large emerald set round with a number of smaller ones. Around his neck, and hanging low upon his breast, was suspended a collar, or necklace, also of emeralds, of a gloubular shape, and of the size of a pigeon's egg; and close round the neck was another necklace of beautiful pearls. A mantle of gold tissue was thrown loosely, and not inelegantly, over his shoulders, and at his feet lay his scimeter in a scabbard of green velvet with chapes of gold.

2nd March.—By particular invitation, this day Sir Charles Malet, attended by his suite, visited the minister Balajee Punt Nana Furneveiss, at his private garden villa, in the neighbourhood of the city; where he received us with his usual unaffected frankness and cordiality. The uniformity of this had, indeed, long since, insured for him a very sincere personal attachment on our part. In him, at least, we remarked that possession of power had not yet choked the virtues which might possibly have once embellished the character of a Brahmin. Our entertainment, which furnished no repast, was in a neat parlour in the centre of the garden; with a small tank and fountain in front, backed by a parterre of brilliant flowers.

3rd March.—Further particulars of the recent conflict before Seringapatam, continued to pour in upon us; all now unnecessary to repeat. Lieuts. Chalmers and Nash, who had so gallantly defended Coimbatore against Kummur-ud-dein, and who had been detained as prisoners of war, in gross violation of treaty, were sent out by the Sultaun, a day or two subsequent to the forcing of the lines, to intercede with Lord Cornwallis for peace: protesting, on his part, that both he, and his father before him, were sincere friends to the English government. It must

be acknowledged, however, that one of them, at least, had adopted an awkward method of displaying this amicable disposition, if it is to be sought for only in the most implacable hostility.

10th March.—Accounts were received this morning, which we considered official, that either peace, or its preliminaries, had been actually concluded with Tippoo Sultaun.

15th March.—Letters were this day received from Mr. Pay-master Uhthoff (with Little's detachment) announcing the actual conclusion of a definite treaty of peace between Tippoo Sultaun, and the allied powers. This important information was accompanied by the statement of a melancholy attempt of self-destruction, on the part of that brave and chivalrous soldier, Gen. Medows.

To account for this rash and extraordinary act, in an individual so eminently distinguished, it is only necessary to explain, that on the night of the memorable attack on the enemy's lines, of the 6th Feb. the General commanded the column which formed the right of that attack. This column had been directed to penetrate the enemy's lines, towards their extreme left. Unfortunately, the head of the column, instead of entering the bound-hedge, became engaged in an attack upon the Eidgah redoubt; sometimes called Lally's; where the defence turned out so obstinate and protracted, and occasioned so great a delay, as might have produced results the most disastrous. For, during the untoward delay, it was, that the enemy from the left, were permitted to bear down upon the centre column, commanded by Lord Cornwallis in person. His lordship had successfully penetrated the line in his front; and having detached the greater part of his column in pursuit of the enemy towards the river side, was for some time exposed to the greatest jeopardy of being cut off, by the superior force which now poured upon him.

Providentially the troops that remained about his

lordship's person, fought with such devoted steadiness and resolution, that the assailants were repelled with loss; and it was only about break of day, when not far from the foot of Carigaht Hill, that Gen. Medows made his appearance with the right column of attack. It is said that in the irritation of the moment, a sharp interrogatory dropped from his lordship, as to "where Gen. Medows had been disposing of himself?" It has never been satisfactorily explained, why it was, that after silencing the Eidgah redoubt, the column was led to the left *without*, rather than, as directed in the plan of the attack, *within*, the bound-hedge. Some, indeed, have asserted that it was through the cowardice or treachery of the guides. This, however, has been denied; and that, although the General was spoken to on the subject, he, as it was said, persisted in moving to the left, *without* the hedge.

Harrassed by the reflection of the tremendous mischief that might have occurred, had any thing fatal occurred to Lord Cornwallis and the column in the centre, in consequence of this unfortunate deviation; a mind so sensitive as that of Gen. Medows sunk under the impression: and he felt it beyond all endurance. He had looked forward to the hope, that the Sultaun would have held out to extremity; and that he must, of course, have been the officer selected to command the storming party. He had, indeed, been frequently heard to repeat, that "a storm was necessary to his peace of mind." When, therefore, these hopes were frustrated, and that peace was determined upon, he gave out a report that he was going home in the Dutton East Indiaman, then about to sail for England. On the very morning on which he made the lamentable attempt, he had conversed privately, and with apparent indifference, with Mr. Uhthoff, on the subject of his voyage.

The day which had been determined upon by Lord Cornwallis to receive the first visit of the two

hostage princes, was the one fixed upon for the perpetration of this act of extraordinary desperation. The moment the salute was firing, on the approach of the princes, was that chosen by the General to put a period to his existence. His pistol had been loaded with slugs; three of which had lodged in his body. Two of them were promptly extracted. He is said to have expressed the deepest regret for what he had done; as well as his unreserved approbation of every measure adopted by Lord Cornwallis; and that nothing on the part of that noble person, had had the slightest influence on his conduct on this melancholy occasion. He could, indeed, be sometimes facetious on the subject; remarking that "Mr. Medows had had a misunderstanding with Gen. Medows, that had terminated in a duel; in which matters had been amicably adjusted."

In my notes on this prolific subject, I find a circumstance stated so transcendently honourable to the character of the native troops of the Madras establishment, in the proceedings of the 7th of Feb. that I cannot withhold from myself the gratification of recording it in these pages.

In the gallant defence of Sibbald's redoubt, which became the object of fierce and reiterated attacks on the part of the enemy, on that memorable day which succeeded to the triumphant occupation of the lines on the Cavery, the officer whose name was afterwards given to the redoubt, with two others, had fallen in its defence; and the Europeans, after having sustained repeated assaults with their accustomed firmness and resolution, had declared themselves, at last, so completely exhausted, by the unceasing fatigue of the day, and of the preceding night, as well as from the entire want of nourishment, that they were unable to stand to their arms any longer; and they accordingly laid themselves down in the body of the redoubt. At a moment so trying to the stoutest heart, Capt. Montgomery, who commanded a detachment

of Madras sepoys in the work, either by the influence of his example, or by the employment of that persuasive language, which will sometimes give animation to the most timid, prevailed upon his men to step into the places of their exhausted European comrades. Thus placed in the post of honor, they nobly repelled the two next attacks of the enemy, who came on, both European-French, and natives; and with such unshaken steadiness and intrepidity, that the European soldiers, reanimated by the example of self-devotion, exhibited by those whose complexion they were not always disposed to regard with particular respect, again flew to their posts; and continued to maintain them with invincible firmness, until, baffled in every attempt, the enemy finally relinquished the contest; and left the redoubt in the quiet possession of those, by whom it had been *so* bravely defended.

One more circumstance of this memorable campaign I am further tempted to introduce in these pages, and I shall close the subject for ever.

On the night of the 18th of February, in order to draw off the attention of the garrison, while we were breaking ground to the northward, Lord Cornwallis ordered an attack to be made on a body of cavalry encamped on the S.E. glacis of the fort. For this purpose, Maj. Dalrymple, of H. M. 71st regt. was directed to cross the Cavery below the islands, with his own corps, and a battalion of Bengal sepoys. Having so done, and made a detour to the southward, to avoid alarming the enemy, the Major re-crossed the Cavery into the island; and having detached Capt. Robertson, the son of the historian of Charles the Vth. with the light, and 3 battalion companies of the regiment, together with 4 companies of sepoys, to carry the principal design into execution, he remained with the rest of the detachment in reserve.

Capt. Robertson had the good fortune to pass the enemy's videttes without discovery; and, entering

the camp unobserved, commenced the work of death with the zeal of an avenger; and before the alarm had spread, had put to the bayonet to the number of 200, and wounded as many more, besides killing 100 of their horses. After having been in possession of the camp for about an hour, he was then suffered to retire without interruption; and he rejoined the reserve, under Maj. Dalrymple, without the loss of a man. When day broke the next morning, the enemy must have been not a little appalled at the appearance to the N.W.—of a parallel thrown up, sufficient for the cover of two battalions. All this must, doubtless, have had considerable effect in accelerating to its conclusion the treaty of peace, then in discussion; the preliminary articles of which were signed on the 22nd: and on the 27th of Feb. the day on which the hostage princes arrived in the camp of Lord Cornwallis, hostilities finally ceased.

Thus, then, terminated a war, which, from commencement to conclusion, exhibited a series of events, which shed untarnished lustre upon the arms of the British nation in India; and in which it would be difficult to determine whether most to admire, the skill of the officers, or firmness of the men. Whether the advantages derived from our success were commensurate with our lavish expenditure of blood and treasure; or whether the reduction effected in the power and resources of the enemy, were such as to ensure any reasonable chance of a permanent peace, was even then a question of serious doubt. Circumstances had, however, recently arisen, to render it possible that, had the metropolis of Mysore been actually subjugated, and the power of the Sultaun more effectually curtailed, we should have had to contend for the booty, with our good, but very capricious, allies. There were, indeed, not a few, who, without any very extraordinary scope of vision, did not scruple to predict, that many years would not be suffered to elapse, before we should be called upon *to fight the battle over again.*

24th March.—I received a long and interesting letter from my friend Edward Moor. From accounts of the army of the 6th of March, the first installment of the peace-money had been made good, to the amount of 165 laks of rupees; equivalent to one million six hundred and fifty thousand pounds, sterling. On this occasion, report stated, that in our advanced works carrying on to the N.W. of the fort, the most dismal screams were heard from the place, which were ascribed to the tortures employed under the Sultan's authority to raise the money—*quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur achivi*—but I have never ascertained that there existed any just grounds for such a report. That the Sultaun temporised to the very last, is better authenticated; and it was very well understood, that, availing himself of the armistice, he continued with all his might, to strengthen the defective parts in the works of the town.

31st March.—As opinions were still fluctuating with regard to the conduct of Gen. Medows, the following was communicated to me, as the statement made by the General himself to Lord Cornwallis, in explanation of the movement of the right column on the night of the 6th of February.

When the Eidgah redoubt had at last been taken possession of, and against which the column had been undesignedly brought up, and the attack of which was undertaken without orders by the officer at the head of the column, the General observed that the firing towards the centre of the lines had entirely ceased. Hence he had been led to conclude that the British troops were in actual possession of the island; and that it then became adviseable to conduct the column by the shortest possible course, to that part of the attack; in order that the division might be thrown in, to the timely support of those whom he concluded to have been already across the river. The guides, however, missed the road; and that it was in consequence of this, the General did not succeed in joining the Com.-in-Ch. until day-light

was too near at hand for the further employment of the column.

Alas! with all respect to the memory of departed excellence, we all now know, that after unfortunately coming in contact with it, the error lay in not masking the obnoxious redoubt; to accomplish which a couple of companies of Europeans would have been quite sufficient; and, without further delay, entering the bound-hedge line. For Lord Cornwallis's instructions had been so distinctly given—to avoid all interference with this redoubt; on the contrary, to enter the bound-hedge immediately; and, wheeling to the left, thus take the enemy in flank, and so bearing down the whole of their left wing, finally to reunite with the centre—that it is quite surprising there should have existed either doubt or mistake on the subject. Providentially, the hazardous exposure of Lord Cornwallis's person was the greatest inconvenience that ensued; but had anything fatal occurred to his lordship's person, who was only slightly wounded in the hand, the result might have been most alarming. Setting aside the probable waste of human life, another campaign would have been, beyond all calculation, ruinous in point of expence.

I find it here noted, that the 23rd of March was the commencement of the new year of the Hindus; being the first new moon, after the saturnalia of the hooly. And the 14th of the same moon, was the Shub-e-beraut; the night devoted by Mahomedans to the memory of departed souls. The former, therefore, will ever be attached to the vernal equinox; but the latter is moveable through every month in the year.

14th April.—I received this day, a friendly and flattering letter from Lieut. Lancelot Reed, Adj. of the Bombay grenadier battalion; a corps, the martial appearance of which drew from Lord Cornwallis himself, expressions of distinguished approbation.

My friend also flatters me with the meteor fancy of the feather in my cap. The purchase has indeed cost me dear: but of this enough has, I am afraid, been already said. Lieut. Reed having succeeded to some property soon after this, retired from the service, and I never saw him again. I have, however, understood, that on his return to England, he became Adjutant to the Northumberland militia. But, wherever disposed of, independently of his merit as a soldier, his mild spirit, and gentlemanly demeanor, would render Lancelot Reed a most acceptable member, if not a favorite, in any society.

About the same date, I also received a letter from my friend Boden, ever attentive and kind; and it will not be thought extraordinary that I should have expressed considerable anxiety, to cultivate and preserve the friendship of such, among many others, as those universally respected individuals. And here—without meaning to arrogate any particular merit to myself—I trust I may be permitted to say, what I consider one of the greatest blessings, as it is the proudest distinction of, my life, that the most intimate friends I had in the world, were among the best and bravest of the service to which I belong.

It now became known, that the allied armies had separated, on the 26th and 27th of March, for their respective destinations. Some time previous to the present date, doubt had arisen with respect to the designs of Mahadeujee Sindiah; who had never very cordially approved of the enterprise against the despot of Mysore. This powerful and ambitious chief, was, at this period, understood to have arrived at Beir; a station about 70 kosse, or 175 miles N.E. of Poona; and represented to be the abode of his peir, or patron saint. For, although a genuine Mahratta of the ancient stock, Sindiah had adopted, for the object of his veneration, a Mahommedan recluse, of the name of Shah Munsour, long since dead; but who had been succeeded in his functions, as anchorite, or

peir, by his son, Habeib Shah; such being the inordinate vanity of these fanatics. And they are generally so indulged in their arrogant pretensions, that they do not scruple to assume, what might be considered a title of sovereignty; as having, we may suppose, completely subdued the frailties, and infirmities, of poor humanity. The approach of this independent and powerful chieftian, at such a time, whatever were his motives, had, I well recollect, awakened some jealous apprehensions, lest he might have taken a part unfavourable to the interest of the British government, and of the triple alliance in general. Otherwise I do not think that the circumstance would have been made the subject of any remark in these pages.

The time was now arrived, when it became necessary for me to prepare my mind for the loss of my advantageous situation, with the Resident's escort at Poona; and for some humble retreat at Bombay.

4th May.—A reference to these dates, "so few and far between," will furnish additional proof, how scanty are the materials of history to be found in a period of tranquility. I received, however, at this time, from my friend Lieut. Moor, a letter describing, in dismal colours, the manifold distresses accumulated in the army under Prusram Bhow, in their evacuation of the Mysorean territory; the Sultaun's beiders, or predatory horse, plundering and treating with every species of outrage, all that fell into their power; while for these ferocious proceedings, the Bhow retaliated upon the towns and villages that unfortunately stood in his way. With some other gentlemen, and a small guard of sepoys, Lieut. Moor had separated from the Bhow, about 36 miles south of the Toombudra, on the 22nd of April.

I had, for many months, suffered much from painful irritation in my wounded limb; for which I had hitherto been unable to account; but yesterday all was explained, by the exhibition of a small splinter

from the extremity of the thigh bone. And I then distinctly recollected the snap, that occurred when the operation of the saw terminated, and the leg dropped off. But the agony, which at frequent periods, I have ever since continued to suffer, has no otherwise been accounted for, than by the supposition, that in applying the ligatures necessary to stop the hemorrhage at the close of the operation, some nerve has, unfortunately, been fastened up with the artery. Such, at all events, is the opinion of those of the profession to whom I have occasionally spoken on the subject.

18th May.—By a letter received this day by Sir Charles Malet, from Gen. Sir Robert Abercromby, Governor of Bombay, it was intimated that I was likely to obtain the appointment of garrison quarter-master, at Surat. This, as a proof that my misfortune had not entirely escaped the attention of Government, and not less as something of a balance to the loss of full field allowances, which the Resident's escort received, could not but afford to me considerable consolation. But, under Providence, I was remotely indebted for this, to the original suggestion of my commanding officer, Capt. afterwards, Col. Little; not less humane and compassionate than he was brave. I had, however, reason to know, that I was more immediately so, to the application of my respected and valuable friend, Sir Charles Malet. It became then my determination to quit Poona altogether, in 7 or 8 days.

Although the spot has since become sufficiently known to our countrymen, I cannot here omit to state, that Lieut. Emmet, by actual admeasurement, found the fall of the Gutpoorbah, near Gohkauk, to be not less than 175 feet in height; instead of 70, as stated by my fellow-traveller, Gen. Boye.* This would, therefore, make it higher by 15 feet, than the highest part of the stupendous cataract of Niagara.

* See page 281.

During my residence at Poona, I do not recollect that any thing made a more lively impression on my mind, than a visit which, in company with some of our friends from the Sungum, I paid to the Peshwa's ménagerie, at the foot of the hill of Pahrbutty. It then contained some of the finest, if not the very finest, specimens of the brute creation that I had ever beheld. There were, in particular, a lion and rhinoceros; as perfect in their condition and proportions as if they had been at large in their native wilds. The king of animals and lord of the forest, appeared full worthy of his awful dignity. He was in full flesh, perfectly clean; and presented a forehead of such stately and massive proportions, that taken altogether, as a symbol of majesty, activity and strength, there seemed in all nature nothing comparable. Being un-caged and in an open shed, chained only to a strong upright post driven into the ground, the air had sufficient access all around, so as to prevent the nauseous effluvia, which we experience when these animals are more closely confined. The tranquil indifference with which the majestic creature, seated on his hind legs, and presenting his stupendous chest and fore arm, contemplated his strange visitors, in dress and complexion, so different to what he had been accustomed to, could not but impress us with a peculiar sensation of awe. And now, more than ever, I could not be surprised that the celebrated Alep Arslan, should, in the disposition of his hair and beard, have endeavoured to exhibit some resemblance to the features of this most formidable of animals. In this noble creature, at the same time, from its being regularly fed and carefully attended, we had an opportunity of beholding a sample of the species in much higher perfection, than by a transient view in the solitude of the wilderness; or the exhibitions at Exeter 'Change, in its most flourishing state.

Next to the lion, and equally as accessible to the

fresh air, was, also fastened in the same manner, the finest and most perfect model of a rhinoceros, that I have ever seen, either before or since. For, unlike the shapeless monster that we usually see exhibited, with his body enveloped in loose and flaccid folds of indurated hide, this stupendous animal was filled out to its utmost proportions; and its huge armour-like exterior being stretched almost to bursting, it was as round as a hogshead; and at the same time as lively, I was going to say, as any sucking pig. Indeed, when the keeper, by a slight touch with his wand, made him rear up a little on his hind legs, while the alertness surprised me, I could not but compare him to a wine pipe, set a little on one end. At all events, the ponderous agility of the animal was astonishing. Its small, but prominent eye, appeared sparkling, and full of animation; and the horny mass upon its snout, though it did not yet seem to have attained to its full growth, by its backward turn and hook-like shape, furnished sufficient proof, that when applied by a momentum of such force, its effect must be tremendous; and renders less surprising the accounts we receive of its power to subdue the otherwise surpassing strength of the elephant. There were several tigers, and other animals in the same range; but they seemed unworthy of observation, or sunk into insignificance, by the side of the other stupendous creatures.

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On Thursday, the 24th of May, 1792, at one in the morning, exactly two years from the period at which I left Bombay, with the detachment, under

* Finding that the M.S. of this volume is likely to extend beyond the ordinary size of one, into which compass it was deemed desirable to compress it, the Editor, in view to farther economy of room in the page—attempts at which, a critical eye may have earlier perceived—here drops the headings, hitherto observed, as in the M.S. of CHAPTER. Such divisions, in the M.S.—of no particular advantage in this work—will, in future, be indicated, as here, by a *line*.———

Capt. Little, I finally quitted the Resident's hospitable mansion at Poona; with expectations, alas! how little resembling the glowing hopes and excitements of the former period.

On the advantages which I derived from my sojourn of a twelvemonth at the Sungum, I can never set too high a value. They did not terminate with my departure; but they accompanied me, with effects of redundant utility, throughout a future life of some vicissitude. Independently of the patronage of my distinguished friend, Sir Charles Malet, which was never withdrawn from me, and of which I experienced the most substantial proof many years afterwards, I derived from his conversation, instruction on a variety of subjects, that hath been to me of the most essential utility: and more particularly on that which is connected with my humble progress in Oriental Literature—which became my resource and consolation under every succeeding change; and in which I have already declared, that as a practical scholar, I have never known his equal.

It would be tedious and quite unnecessary to detail the course of my journey on this occasion; which was entirely devoid of incident; until on Saturday, the 26th May, when I reached the village and tank, at Barou, about six miles from Panwell.

Sunday, 27th May.—In order to avoid the alternative of boating against the impending S.W. monsoon, sometime in the morning, I turned off the direct road, proceeding to the N.W. and almost immediately passed under Mullungurr, or Bawamullun; that inexpugnable mountain-fort, in sight of Bombay; which set at defiance, and repulsed with loss, the British force which attempted to carry it by assault, against a storm of granite, hurled down the rocky stairs, in 1779.

I crossed the ferrying-place on the estuary, which separates the island of Salsette from the continent, opposite the fort of Tannah; and arrived under the walls of that place at one in the afternoon.

28th May.—After having abundantly experienced the usual bounteous hospitality of a subordinate station, I left Tannah about two in the morning, and reached Bombay at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of the same day.

My stay at the Presidency, on this occasion, was necessarily very brief, as I was anxious to proceed on my over-land journey to Surat, before the rains, which were now close at hand, should finally set in.

Sunday, 3rd June.—According to arrangement, I was in orders for the garrison Quarter-master-ship of that old existing station. When I visited Sir Robert Abercromby on the occasion, he expressed, with the feelings of a genuine soldier, his regret that the government had nothing better to confer upon me. At the same time I could not but experience some compunction that to make room for me, it should have become expedient to displace an officer of such distinguished merit, as Lieut. afterwards Maj.-Gen. Sir George Holmes, K.C.B.—whose sturdy gallantry, at subsequent periods, both in Malabar and Gujarat, gave him a character of the first-rate order, among the officers of the Bombay establishment.

It was not, however, until Sunday, the 10th of June, early in the morning, that I left Bombay for Surat; accompanied by Lieut. Jeremiah Lock; who, although a mighty talker, was, nevertheless, a much better soldier, than that class of gentry is generally thought to produce. We reached Tannah about 11 in the fore-noon, after a sultry, and to myself, rather fatiguing journey. We experienced a very kind and hospitable reception from Mr. Fletcher Hayes, of the civil service, employed at that subordinate.

11th June.—About 5 in the morning, we left Tannah, in the chief's barge, or bunder-boat; and gliding in almost imperceptible motion, down the picturesque and beautiful estuary, or arm of the sea, which embraces the island of Salsette to the eastward, we arrived between 9 and 10 o'clock at Gorabunder. We had previously dispatched our baggage over-land,

and it was already on the spot; and we were, therefore, enabled to proceed immediately down the channel to Bassein; which we reached about 3 in the afternoon. It now occurred to us, that had we taken the direct road from Mahim through the centre of the Island of Salsette, we should have been here yesterday fore-noon; and thus a day in advance, on our journey. We passed a comfortless night, in what they called the Mandavy, or custom-house; in an uncleanly corner of the suburbs. An intelligent Brahmin, whom we found exercising the duties of humanity to the passing strangers, gave us to understand that he was an inhabitant of Bassein, in the time of Don Martin Silveira; who was governor of the place, when, after a siege of three years, it was surrendered by the Portuguese to the Mahrattas. If the Brahmin's statement were correct, who fixed the date at half a century before, this occurrence must have taken place about A.D. 1742.

The British troops under Gen. Goddard, took the place in 17 days.

12th June.—We left Bassein, or Bassey, as it is usually called by the natives, at half-past 3 in the morning; and at 7 o'clock reached Dantaury, the ferrying-place, on the great estuary of Agaussy—so called. A mile or two to the northward of its entrance into the sea, lay the island fortress of Arnaul; which our engineers undertook to batter, at the distance of 1,200 yards; that is, quite across the arm of the sea. This had, however, the effect of intimidating the garrison to an early surrender.

13th June.—We left the village, north of the Agaussy, at 3 in the morning; reached the river near the village of Killou at 5 o'clock; and that of Mahim, 2½ kosse further, at 7.

We hastened on our journey without halting; and at 9 in the morning, we reached the village of Sirgaum, situated on the sea shore, in a forest of cocoanut trees, about 3 kosse to the northward of Mahim.

We were anxious to reach this spot, in order to be at hand to cross the Sautputty, at low ebb; that broad estuary being notorious for a dangerous bhore at the flowing of the tide. We took up our abode on the sand-bank, which edges the shore; where we found a well of excellent water; an article, which from the observation of these two days, would seem in this quarter to be inconveniently scarce: distance, 8 kosse.

14th June.—At half-past 1 in the morning, we left Sirguam; where by the bye, in passing, we observed a respectable small fort, or castle; and in about half an hour afterwards, we entered the bed of the Sautputty; it being dead low water. The tide, as hath been already intimated, runs in here with extraordinary rapidity, erecting itself into a towering and alarming bhore; such as is spoken of in the Ganges; which renders it necessary to be on the spot some time before low water, otherwise there would be considerable danger of being overtaken on the sands. Such, indeed, were the apprehensions of my bearers, that they carried me across in the short space of 10 minutes; although they affirm the channel to be a kosse, or 1½ mile wide.

At 6 o'clock we passed Terapour Chitny—about 9 we crossed the Danoo river, and a short time afterwards, we halted at the village of that name, north of the river. This was a long day's journey; reckoned about 15 kosse, or nearly 23 miles; for our present description of kosse appears to be limited to 1½ mile each.

During our halt at Danoo, my fellow-traveller, who was rather fond of a bit of mischief, unfortunately observing a stray hen, wandering in the vicinity of our gipsy kitchen, took the liberty of knocking it down, with a shy of his walking stick; and as poultry was become a rarity, it was immediately feathered, for our dinner. Unluckily the cook had neglected to conceal the feathers; for a little time afterwards, an old woman was observed

prowling about the spot; and as guilt makes cowards of us all, we began to tremble for the result. As ill luck would have it, the feathers caught her eye; and taking a handful of them up, she raised such an outrageous outcry as quite alarmed us; and we were glad to silence her clamours by paying her five times the value of her hen. Otherwise she might have brought the village mob about our ears; and we could hardly have escaped without a severe drubbing.

15th June.—At one in the morning, we left Danoo, passing with cautionary speed, for 5 kosse, through the Chansiah jungle; the district of a piratical community of that name. At 7 o'clock we reached Oomargaum, immediately crossing the river at that place in the ferry-boat. About a kosse further on, and about 10 in the fore-noon, we halted for the day, at the village of Nargoull. This place is remarkable as the spot, where the Parsees first landed in India, on their expulsion from Iran, by their Mahommedan invaders. It was still, chiefly inhabited by that remnant of an ancient and renowned nation.

From the Parsee Patell, or village prefect, we experienced on this occasion, a degree of civility, as unlooked for as it was extraordinary, in this inhospitable district.

Within land of Danoo, to the eastward, is that remarkable hill, by seamen called Valentine's Peak; but by the natives, Maha Lutchmy.

16th June.—We quitted Nargoull, at half-after 2 in the morning; and at 7 o'clock, we reached the well-known Portuguese settlement and fort of Damaun. The fort which stands on the left, or N. bank of the river, is a small polygon, with bastions at each angle; but without either ditch or out-work. We were detained an hour and an half, for permission to cross the river; the governor being, as it was said, engaged at his devotions.

Having, however, been allowed to cross the river

at last, we took up our quarters at a bunglah, or garden-house, belonging to a Portuguese inhabitant, introduced to us as Signor Bernarde, about half a kosse N.W. of the lesser Damaun, on the N. side of the river. This was at 10 in the forenoon; when we found ourselves civilly, and very agreeably lodged for the day. The Signor, with a priest and two Portuguese merchants, passed the afternoon with us; and were highly delighted with some excellent pale ale, with which we regaled them. Mr. Bernarde himself seemed a plain honest sort of a man; more like a substantial English yeoman, than any Portuguese that I ever fell in with. The night proved dark and boisterous, with every alarming symptom of the approaching monsoon.

Sunday, 17th June.—We left Signor Bernarde's comfortable villa, a little before 4 in the morning. At 5 o'clock, we passed the Tarry, or salt creek, at Koolluk, and at 7, another at Dongry. This latter is in the vicinity of the small sugar-loaf hill fort, called Pahrneira, sometimes Pahrnella. After landing from the ferry-boat, the tide being out, my bearers found considerable difficulty in wading through the mud, in which they sunk knee deep at every step. We arrived at Bulsaur, or Versaul, as it is usually denominated, at half-past 9 o'clock. This appeared a pretty large and populous town. The last stage was about 10 kosse, or nearly 15 miles.

18 June.—Just at mid-night of the day before, we quitted Bulsaur, by a wooden bridge, at the N. end of the river; but a second branch of the same river, which as far as I can recollect, they called the Kavery, we forded. A little after 6, we passed through Gundevee, another large and populous town, and our northern mart for timber. North of the latter place, about the distance of a kosse, we crossed a considerable river, running in a bed of sand and gravel; and which, as far as I could learn, was the Surwaury. Here I would fix the commencement of the extensive level

of Gujerat; which presents but very little elevation, from hence to Champaneir, and the Raujepiply hills.

It was just 11 at night when we reached Nousaury. This town, the largest in our route, is inhabited chiefly by the industrious Parsees; and was subject to the authority of Manajee Bhow Gaikowar, the brother of Futtah Sing, the feudatory chief, of Brodera. During the night, we were entertained by the harsh melody of some drunken Arabs, who had taken up their quarters in a neighbouring mosque. Our last stage may be considered a very long one; at least 17 kossee, or nearly 26 miles—a forced march, occasioned by our just alarm, lest we should be overtaken by the monsoon.

19th June.—At 2 in the morning, we left Nousaury, fording the river at the very nick of low water; the tide lifting about 6 inches in two or three minutes after we had crossed. At half-after 4, we reached the river near Rajapour, a castle, belonging to the once powerful tribe of Siddees, and still in the possession of Baloo Miah, or the Navab Baloo, as he was sometimes called, one of their descendants, then resident at Surat. The bed of the river we found deep and muddy. At 8 o'clock in the morning we reached the Nousaury gate, in the exterior wall of Surat; and this most fortunately, as the rains set seriously in, on the evening of the very same day.

It would appear that our hours of actual travelling, on this occasion, were $82\frac{1}{2}$; which, at 3 miles an hour, would make the distance from Bombay to Surat, altogether, 247 miles; exclusive of our circuit of the island of Salsette.

22nd June, 1792.—I took charge of the appointment of garrison quarter-master at Surat, from Lieut. James Troy. It was, therefore, not in this office that I superseded Gen. Holmes; but in that of officer of the chief's guard, to which I immediately succeeded, on the appointment of Mr. Griffith, the then highly respected, and able chief of Surat: being, as may be

well remembered, at that time, both in importance and dignity, the second civil functionary on the western side of India.

Next day I accordingly, moved down, and took possession of the officer's quarters, at the mansion-house of the chief, standing as is well known, on the elevated S. bank of the river Tapty, and on the N.W. angle, formed between the exterior western city wall, and that river.

While I continued to reside with Mr. Griffith, I had ample leisure to prosecute my studies in Persian; and my deepest regret arose from the limited state of my income, which precluded me from the purchase of many a rich and valuable manuscript; but there was one article in particular, of which I have never ceased to lament my inability to obtain possession. This was a collection of Hindostany paintings, in oil; beautifully executed, either at Delhy or Agra.

There were among them some very lovely landscapes of Muhtra and its vicinity, making due allowance for defect in perspective. But, more than all, I coveted several portraits of the emperors of the race of Teymur; which would have formed most appropriate embellishments to a work, that even thus early, I had in contemplation,* The whole lot, consisting of 30 pieces, was offered to me for 1,500 rupees, a sum that would have drained my money chest to the dregs. I could not even prevail upon my friend Mr. Griffith, who had untold thousands at command, to possess himself of what I considered such treasures of art; and I never saw them afterwards. I had not, however, at this period learnt the full value of the precious metals:—a knowledge, which if I had earlier acquired, would have rendered me now

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* Retrospect of Mahomedan History, 4 vols. 4to.—published in 1811-21.—Ed.

a man of fortune, instead of eking out my existence on the *res angusta domi.*

I continued at Surat, as well as I can remember, for about 3 years from this period; during which, a period of profound peace, so little occurred worthy of record, that I entirely suspended the amusement of journalizing. But in about 18 months, I was induced by an irrepressible spirit of inquietude, to entertain the indiscreet design of exchanging my enviable abode, under the wing of my kind and valuable friend, Mr. Griffith; and the sumptuous hospitalities of the Chief's table, for the humble conveniences of a mansion of my own.

At this distance of time, I cannot aver that it was the circumstance about to be related, which first awakened this unquiet feeling; but one day, when a large party were assembled at dinner, at the Chief's, and I sat as usual at the bottom of the table, I happened inadvertantly to say, "*We* did so and so;" when my commander, Capt. Little, who had lately assumed the command of the station, most significally looking at me, and with something of a sarcastic smile, emphatically repeated, more than once, the offensive syllable—"*We.*" That the impression which the sarcasm left upon my mind was not transitory, will hardly be disputed; since a period of more than 40 years has not been sufficient to remove it. It had, at all events, the advantageous effect of extinguishing for ever, a paltry vanity, which might otherwise, perhaps, have taken permanent possession of me.

My residence at the Chief's was, at the same time, attended with circumstances of comfort and convenience to the very verge of luxury. The very hottest season was made to us a period of enjoyment, in the beautiful pavilion, over-looking the river, under the refreshing coolness produced by the dashing of water through the coosa-grass frames, which covered every opening; and I shall ever remember, with sensations

of gratitude, the zest given to our delightfully cooled claret, by the unreserved and instructive conversation of Mr. Griffith; who was an excellent classical scholar. In the hottest months of the year, those of March and April, I generally accompanied him in his yacht, to Domus, and Vauxes' tomb; where the river enters the sea, and where we usually remained from Saturday to Monday. In the moderate part of the dry season, the same period between Saturday and Monday, was usually passed at a bunglah, and suite of tents, belonging to the Chief, on the S. bank of the river; about 4 or 5 miles below the city.

On one of these last occasions of retirement, a circumstance occurred to myself, so much out of the common way, that I do not hesitate to hazard the relation.

One morning, before breakfast, I had repaired to the bunglah, where the Chief usually entertained his guests; when I observed lying along the single rail, with which the bunglah is surrounded, a large snake, with its head resting against the angle; and as I thought fast asleep: seizing a lightish bamboo, about 7 or 8 feet long, I was tempted, by laying it along the other rail, which formed the angle, to try whether I could not crush the reptile's head against the corner. It is not to be forgotten, that I was upon crutches, and that my aim could not have been the most accurate; but, as it was, the bamboo only just grazed the head of the creature; which, to my surprise, and dismay, disengaging itself from the rail, made immediately at me; and all I could do was, by beating the unweildy bamboo, which I held by the smaller end, against the side of the reptile's neck, which could not have hurt it in the slightest degree; and I must soon have had its fangs fastened upon me, were it not that my calls speedily brought to my relief some of the attendants; who, by pelting it with whatever was at hand, sent the detested reptile to its hole; of which there were too many along the bank

of the river. The creature was at least 5 or 6 feet long; but I cannot say that it was a cobra capella. When, however, it is recollected that I was at the time on crutches, I think it will be acknowledged that I exposed myself to some jeopardy. I have sometimes, in a dream, conceived myself in a situation something similar; but neither before nor since have I ever experienced the reality.

It was, at the expiration of about 18 months, subsequent to my arrival at Surat, that I finally determined to relinquish my enviable situation with the Chief, and remove into the town. In effecting this arrangement, I was so unfortunate as to incur, most undesignedly, the displeasure, though temporary, of my friend, Mr. Griffith.

The house to which I removed was situated in a part of the town, which from the number of Jewish families residing hard by, I might call the Jew's quarter, and to the westward of the Latty water-gate; the mansion near that gate, being then occupied by Mr. Alexander Ramsay, a most intelligent and liberal minded civil servant; distinguished in that class which has been acknowledged to have produced as able public functionaries as any in the world. Among other residents at Surat, at this period, I find included Capt. (since Maj.-Gen.) Reynolds; then engaged in arranging the materials of that elaborate and splendid map of Hindustaun, now lodged at the India House. And in the royal flag-staff-tower of the castle residence, my ever kind and benevolent friend, Archibald Little; to whose medical skill I have been so often indebted, and who now held the appointment of garrison-surgeon of Surat. As there are no physicians, so designated, in India, it may be proper to observe, that the function of surgeon includes that of physician.*

* The degree of M.D. is, however, borne by many of the E. I. Company's surgeons and assistant surgeons.—Ed.

In other respects the society at Surat had undergone a considerable change since my former abode. The destructive French revolutionary war had placed both the Dutch and French factories under sequestration; and that unreserved intercourse, which had formerly subsisted between the English and Dutch families, had been broken up. Mr. Sluyskin, the elder Dutch Chief, was intermarried with an English fafamily, that of Mr. Day; and was a man much devoted to literary research. Among other things, he was said to be employed in translating into Dutch, the Ecclesiastical part of Gibbon's History. Mr. Bruix, the Chief of the French factory, and a Captain in the French navy, was also possessed of distinguished qualifications; and a person of engaging manners; with whom, notwithstanding we occasionly sparred on the merits of the then heroes of the revolution, Marat and Robespierre, I was ever on friendly terms. At a subsequent period he was, for a few days, my guest at Bombay; but what became of him afterwards, in the confusion of events, I never could learn. It was, I think, generally understood, that he was akin to the French Admiral de Bruix, who perished in the battle of the Nile.

At my abode in the Jew's quarter, the most retired, I think, in this great city, I continued until Mr. Griffith was called to the chair of Government at the Presidency; and he was succeeded at Surat by Mr. Farmer.

By some means or other, Mr. Farmer had been made to understand that I was a proficient in languages; much more so indeed than, at that moment, I could honestly presume to boast. And he prevailed upon me to give up my house in the city, for one which he assigned me, in the French gardens, separated by the eastern lawn wall and ditch only, from the residence of the British Chiefs. Here I was employed as register to an embryo court of

Adaulet; which he was at that period anxious to establish at that once noble subordinate.

In September, 1794, I received the appointment of deputy-commissary of stores, at Surat, in the room of my old friend, Capt. (afterwards Col.) Seale; who preferred an office in Malabar; transferring that of garrison quarter-master to another officer, whom at this moment I cannot recollect. To this appointment, I was never cordially attached; as there existed some abuses in the system with which I was not exactly prepared to embarrass myself: and some months afterwards, I was, therefore, not a little rejoiced to exchange it for the office of judge-advocate at the Presidency; which was offered to me by my friend Mr. Griffith, the provisional governor: my friend Boden having declined it. Although this was an appointment, which neither in its present possession, nor in prospect, could prove at all so lucrative as that of commissary, I accepted it with the greater satisfaction, as the more respectable of the two.

I accordingly repaired to the Presidency; where, in conjunction with Capt. (afterwards Maj.) George Williams I took a comparatively expensive house, belonging to Commodore Nesbitt, of the Bombay marine.

Prior to this, I should have observed that, with other officers of the same standing, under the three Presidencies, I had, by a service of 15 years, been considered at last, entitled to the *exalted* rank of Captain by brevet.

I had but little time to prepare myself for what I was well aware to be, a very laborious and arduous undertaking, when a general court-martial, of more than ordinary intricacy, was announced as immediately impending. It was that which assembled for the trial of Maj. (afterwards Gen.) Bellasis, of the Bombay Artillery; on the charge of having violated his

engagement, by returning to India, after having received a sum of money from his brother officers to enable him to quit the service, and remain altogether in England. This was an investigation which excited considerable interest, from the distinguished character of the parties concerned. The issue was favourable to the accused; whose plea—"that on his arrival in England, with a numerous family unprovided for, he found poverty staring him in the face," was successful; and he was acquitted: and I believe the verdict gave general satisfaction.

As in the course of a few months, my friend Capt. Williams, was called upon to accompany Gen. Bowles to the province of Malabar; either as secretary, or major of brigade, I quitted "Nesbit Hall;" and went to reside across the water, in a house of Capt. afterwards Gen. Sir Richard Jones, K.C.B. at Old Woman's Island; next door to my friend Gen. Boyé; then plain Capt. Boyé. Here I lived in great comfort about two years; and I still remember, with feelings of delight, those bunder-boat excursions, often made to Elephanta, and Butcher's Island; at which latter place there was then an extensive barrack for the convenience of the royal navy.

It was in this house, at Old Woman's Island, that I had the pleasure of receiving my friend Capt. Moor on his return from England, with an interesting and amiable wife; and I still look back to their brief sojourn with me, as to one of those green spots in the wilderness of life, which we can contemplate with unmixed satisfaction. An intercourse of friendship had subsisted between us long before; which has since ripened into an attachment, that has now (1835) endured unabated, for a period of more than forty-five years.

Having, however, experienced considerable inconvenience from the uncertainty of conveyance to Bombay by the ferry-boat, I removed from Old Woman's Island into the fort; where I occupied a house in

Apollo-street, nearly opposite to the entrance of the marine yard.—How long I continued there I do not now recollect. By this time my distinguished friend Mr. Griffith, had been superseded in the chair of government by Mr. Duncan, of the Bengal establishment, on the especial recommendation of Lord Cornwallis; for which there must have existed some paramount reasons; since an act of injustice but ill accorded with his lordship's upright character.

About the period at which we are now arrived, I think it must have been late in the month of December, of the year 1797, I had received an invitation from Gen. Bowles, to pass a short time with him in Malabar; in which province he held the military command. As the voyage at that season of the year was equally pleasant and short, I did not hesitate to avail myself of this invitation; and I was received by my respected old friend at Tillicherry with his usual kindness and hospitality. He resided at the time in the same cadjan bunglah, on the fort side of Cuddowly-hill, where we had formerly so often partaken of the elegant and splendid hospitalities of Capt. (afterwards Gen.) Gore's table.*

It happened at the time, that we were in the very crisis of the jungle war, with our refractory tributary Kerula Verma, the Pyché Rajah; who, in the bosom of his forest retreats, seemed to bid defiance to all the efforts of regular warfare. His house, or palace, at Pycheh, had some time since been stormed and pillaged; but his submission appeared as distant as ever; and a division of native troops was stationed for the present at Cotapoorambah; 6 or 8 miles within land, or to the eastward of Tillicherry.

Unfortunately, although I was personally unknown to him, Col. Dow, who was the military commissioner joined to those entrusted with the general superintendance of the province of Malabar, proposed to me to act as his secretary, with a detachment then

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* See page 142

in preparation, at his suggestion, to operate as a separate column in the rear of the Cotiote district. Although the scheme of a jungle campaign presented nothing very captivating, to a man who, in case of extremity, must trust to his crutches, I did not think myself at liberty to decline the risk; and I acceded to the proposal.

My first confidential conference furnished me, however, with an instance of mental abstraction, of which I could have formed but a very imperfect conception; and I experienced a pretty strong foretaste of what I had undertaken. I found that, with very imperfect information on the subject, I was expected to draw up a plan for the execution of the design in agitation; and it was only by vexatious questioning, that I gradually elicited from the Colonel, such hints as enabled me to commit to paper sundry paragraphs, recommending that an attack should be made on a post established immediately in the rear of the Cotiote; by marching a detachment into Wynaud; and further acting as circumstances should arise. And this, in the shape of a letter, was communicated to his brother commissioners, at Mahé.

A native battalion, recently embodied and imperfectly disciplined, under Maj. Cameron, a gallant and distinguished soldier, together with some draughts from other corps, was destined for this service: and there was attached to it a grasshopper mountain-gun, of about 2-pound caliber. The corps might have amounted altogether to about 800 or 900 strong. In furtherance of the design, the detachment marched to Calicut; while Col. Dow and myself proceeded by sea from Tillicherry, to join it. The prevailing difficulty was to procure, in as short a time as possible, a supply of rice for the consumption of ten days or a fortnight, and bullocks for its conveyance. The civil servant appointed to the charge, for some private reasons, declined to accompany our commissariat.

In 2 or 3 days, however, slenderly provided, the

detachment marched towards the foot of the Tammercherry gauht; and in the second day's march, we ascended the pass without obstruction. The road up this gauht was sufficiently wide, and more than ordinarily well formed; but it was uniformly steep, the whole of the way.

We encamped in a confined and irregular glen, surrounded by hills, about half a mile to the eastward of the head of the gauht; and here we remained some days to complete the final arrangement for our proceedings; but more particularly, to obtain some further supply of provisions, as the district furnished nothing whatever: and here also it was, truth compels me to remark, that Maj. Cameron exhibited the first symptoms of discontent; because instead of receiving one from the commanding officer, he was not allowed to frame an order of march of his own.

Having secured a further small supply of grain, and established a miniature mud post, near the head of the gauht, for a guard of sepoys under Lieut. Waddington, our detachment was put in motion in advance; without having yet discovered any thing hostile; excepting a few *apparently* unarmed and naked stragglers, about the edge of the jungle, which covered the hills to the N.W. Our column pushed on for a short distance to the southward, to get round the foot of the hill, when, turning to the left, or northward, we passed through some of the most pleasing woodland scenery I ever beheld. To guard against surprise, where we were in momentary expectation of attack, a section of every division was ordered to keep loaded. In the afternoon, still without having perceived a single human being, our own people excepted, although many houses occasionally along the skirts of the jungle, overlooking the cultivated openings, we finally encamped in one of those openings, in two lines, with our baggage in the center.

On the day following, we continued our march unmolested; but I have reason to think not quite unobserved; as the simply armed natives must have accompanied our movements under cover of the jungle on our flanks: more particularly of the impermeable hill forest to our left, where they were unassailable to troops unwieldily armed like ours. On reaching a solitary bazar, or angadi, of which I have forgotten the name, early in the afternoon, we again encamped. This was at the gorge of a spacious open valley, intermediate between the Cotiary gauht, and the Periacherrum, another smaller one, at the very bottom of the valley.

On the third day we resumed our march, amidst the same description of scenery as had hitherto accompanied us; and which generally prevails, indeed, among the eastern recesses of the southern gauhts; until we came to another considerable opening, or cultivated flat, between the hill ranges; our entrance to which was rather inconveniently interrupted by a narrow, but deep and muddy water-course; which it occupied some time to cross. Here we encamped.

Our position at this moment was about 3 miles to the eastward of the Eliacherrum gauht, immediately at the back of the Cotiote district below. I am compelled to observe that, through Col. Dow's extraordinary abstraction of mind, we were frequently, during the march, by running perpetually at some distance ahead of the column, exposed to the utmost danger of being cut off, by any stragglers, that might find it convenient to make a dash at us.

Nevertheless, it might not be very difficult to account for this apparent disregard of personal danger, when it is understood that the Colonel entertained a secret notion, that the little Rajah, with whom he had been long personally acquainted, would, somewhere or other on the march, have met him in a friendly way; and an accommodation thus peacefully effected, to which force had hitherto proved

unavailable. Having, however, been disappointed in this benevolent expectation, it became next our object to establish a strong party, under a steady and devoted officer, at the head of the Cherrum. For this purpose, Lieut. Burke, of Cameron's battalion, was selected.

Next day, accordingly, the whole of the detachment marched to the head of the Cherrum, which I still think to have been the Eliacherrum. We reached the head of the pass without the least obstacle of any kind; and still without the least sight or vestige of an enemy. Our march lay through a continued jungle, of perhaps three miles; emerging from which, we entered another opening of considerable extent, skirted all round by the woods: the actual head of the pass being immediately on the opposite, or western, side of the opening. We chose for our party the edge of the jungle to the eastward; as offering the fairest chance of a successful retreat through the woods in the rear.

Having crossed the open ground to the head of the pass (which was completely covered in, by over-hanging forest trees) and made such arrangements as had been thought necessary, with regard to our devoted party, the detachment was then counter-marched on its return. But the rear files were scarcely disengaged from the opening of the pass, when we were not a little astonished by a sudden discharge of small arms, from among the trees which over-hung us; directed, however, at the retreating column. Some of the shot struck the sepoy's cartridge-boxes without further mischief. The column faced about; and instantly all was as silent as the grave.

At the very moment the volley was given, Col. Dow and myself, with two or three orderlies, had remained, without the smallest suspicion of danger, at the opening of the pass; and resting on the top part of the miaunah palanquin, I was myself deeply engaged in writing a report of our proceedings to the

commissioners at Mahé. Providentially the enemy had not perceived us; otherwise this tale would never have been told. The spot from which the volley was fired, could not have been more than 30 or 40 feet above our heads; and if they had discovered us, there was not a possibility of our escape, as they could have taken aim and fired unseen. The note written here, was despatched from the spot by a confidential native; and was principally intended, after announcing the establishment of the post, under Lieut. Burke, to request that any further supplies might be forwarded up the river of Mahé, towards the recess in the gauhts, at the source of that river.

Although parties were instantly sent to scour the edge of the jungle all round, not a vestige of the enemy could be seen; and we soon afterwards marched back to our encampment, leaving Lieut. Burke with his company, to secure the post, as well as he could, by a stockade and abbatis.

The night passed in undisturbed and singular tranquility, and morning came; when circumstances presented themselves to our notice, which certainly awakened some very startling speculations. On the summit of the hill-range, which flanked the valley in which we were encamped, on the south side, we observed numbers of people; many of whom appeared with the jacket uniforms of our faithful sepoys suspended from their shoulders. This unlooked-for spectacle naturally produced an apprehension, that something sinister must have occurred in our rear, to some of the parties, which were known to be coming to our support. One of these, under Capt. (now Gen.) Disney, had already joined us. A group of officers, including Col. Dow and myself, drew together towards the foot of the hill, in order, if possible, to ascertain the cause of this inauspicious display. Lieut. Nugent, the Adjutant of Cameron's corps, one of the party, inadvertently, and for which he was immediately reproved by Col. Dow, waved his handkerchief; and

some of the strangers, considering this as a signal to approach, without hesitation descended the hill, three or four in number, and joined us.

One of these, very differently attired from the Chermers,* announced himself as the bearer of a communication from the officer in command of one of Tippoo Sultaun's posts, on the out-skirts of Wynaud, towards Mysore; and forthwith presented a sealed note. We now adjourned to the Colonel's tent, for the purpose of perusing the unexpected despatch. The purport of the note, which was in Persian, went to express some surprise, on the part of the writer, at our entrance into Wynaud, as an unwarrantable invasion of a district dependant on the authority of his master, and demanding to be informed of the nature of our designs. To this, a reply was immediately prepared under my instructions, as dictated by Col. Dow; disavowing any intention of encroaching on any part of the Sultaun's territory, with whom our government was desirous of cultivating the most amicable relations; and that our appearance in Wynaud had no other object in view than the reduction to his allegiance, of a refractory tributary.

The bearer of the note did not appear to be a person above the ordinary class; and his demeanor was singularly mild, and respectable: the word Boohddy, equivalent to Swaumy in the Carnatic, accompanying every sentence which he uttered. But one of those who accompanied him bore an aspect so ferocious, with whiskers up to his eyes, and a look of such malignity, that I could not avoid observing him with considerable suspicion; particularly when he appeared to clutch the weapon in his belt, as if ready for any mischief. The weapon was rather an uncommon one, being formed of the pointed ends of an

* This word is obscurely written in the M.S. and is unknown to the Editor.

antelope's horns, turned in opposite directions, and held by a joining in the middle, so as to strike right and left. There was something so menacing in the ruffian's demeanor, that I could not avoid casting my eyes upon our pistols which lay on the table before us. Whether he observed me or not, I cannot say; but I think it may have had some effect upon him. They received a trifle in money, and were dismissed.

A far more serious consideration was, however, now to claim our attention; for on examining into the state of our provision-stores, we made the alarming discovery, that through some contingent losses during the march, our supply had diminished two days more than we had been led to calculate upon. To avoid, therefore, the alternative of perishing by famine, some decisive step became immediately necessary: and it was determined, to return without delay to the head of the pass; which afforded the nearest communication with the river of Mahé. It was, however, indispensible in the first place, to provide for the security of Lieut. Burke, and his party; whom, to abandon in a situation so exposed, at a distance from all support, would have been as unsoldier-like as it would be inhuman. It so happened, that the night before, in conformity with his instructions, Lieut. Burke, with a part of his small force, had descended to the very foot of the Cherrum in his front (the Eliacherrum) and came unexpectedly upon a party of the enemy; who instantly fled, and very probably, gave an alarm to the Rajah's troops, that the whole detachment was about to attack them in the rear. Burke thought that he would, therefore, be permitted to retreat without molestation. At this moment we were, however, not apprized that the troops under Col. Anderson were either marching, or about to march, from Cotapoorambah for the Cotiary gauht.

In these circumstances a note was immediately dispatched to Lieut. Burke, in which he was directed, on

a concerted signal, which was the firing of our gun that night, instantly to withdraw from the post, and join the main body of the detachments. In the mean time, every arrangement was made preparatory to our retreat, Capt. Disney being appointed to command the rear-guard.

In the course of the night—which was rather a sleepless one to most of us—Capt. Budden, of Cameron's battalion, and myself, took occasion to visit an officer's piquet, advanced towards the foot of the hill on which the enemy had shewn themselves in such ominous guise in the morning. And to our equal surprise and dismay, when most others were awake, we found the officer, a young subaltern, fast asleep. It cannot be supposed that we greeted him very kindly, and I will venture to say that he slept no more that night.

About 3 in the morning, we fired our little gun, not only as a signal for Lieut. Burke's retreat, but also as one of defiance to the enemy, whom we justly suspected to be lurking round us. Then immediately dismounting our grasshopper, we placed it in readiness to be conveyed across the deep and muddy water-course, in our rear. Not many minutes were permitted to elapse, when a scattered fire of musketry was heard from the direction of Lieut. Burke's post, and our sensations at the moment may be easily conceived. The detachment was now under arms, and every thing disposed in readiness, for our retrograde movement, as soon as Burke's party should have joined us.

Under circumstances which were sufficiently appalling, our second in command, whose bravery was never called in question, so far forgot himself, as to repeat aloud more than once, in the presence and hearing of the officers, and men under arms—"this will be a night of discomfiture and disgrace!" and more in sorrow than in anger, I addressed him in

terms of strong expostulation, on the strange impropriety of employing such language, at a crisis when every thing was required to animate and to encourage the people. He seemed to take my remonstrance, as it was intended, in good part; for he made me no reply.

The firing continued at intervals during the whole three miles of Lieut. Burke's retreat; but in something less than an hour, the party effected their junction with us; rather, it is not to be denied, in a state of some consternation; some, I regret to say, having lost their turbans, and some even their muskets. They were evidently panic stricken, and it was therefore considered prudent to place them at the head of the column of retreat.

As further delay was inexpedient, the detachment moved in silence across the water-course, Capt. Disney covering the retreat; and the column had gained considerably on the march before day-light.

About an hour after sun-rise, I happened to be in the rear of the column; when, at an angle, where the road turned short to the right, or southward, several of the enemy suddenly made their appearance, on a narrow spur which we had just crossed, and which was thrown out from the woody hill-range on our right. I desired some of the sepoys that were near me to fire at them; but although they were within 40 yards of us, by throwing themselves flat upon the earth the moment they saw the flash of the firing, they must have escaped unhurt. At all events they disappeared into the thick jungle, which covered the hill-range on the right of our line of march.

Our march was continued with little other molestation than that by which we were assailed from the same jungle-covered hill, whence the enemy kept plying us with their bows and arrows from among the trees, where they were perfectly secure from dislodgement; and yelling at us the whole of the way,

like so many hungry jackalls. Many an arrow which had missed its aim was picked up and deposited in my miaunah, by poor Lieut. Nugent, the Adjutant of Cameron's battalion; a very gallant and promising young officer, whose untimely fate we had so shortly afterwards occasion to deplore. But it was rather surprising that we should have here experienced no other casualty than two or three sepoys slightly wounded. The retreat throughout was conducted in perfect order; and early in the afternoon, near the solitary Angady, which we noticed in our advance, and which had been since burnt down, we turned to the westward, down the broad valley looking in that direction from the Angady, and finally encamped where it terminates; immediately at the head of the Periacherrum pass.

We had, however, scarcely halted on our ground, when the enemy, who had probably moved on our right flank during the march, made their appearance, many in number, at the edge of the jungle, high up the hill to the northward of us. We pushed our little gun up the acclivity, in order to keep them at a respectable distance; but after two or three discharges, we found the elevation too great; and the firing was discontinued, lest we might injure or dismount our only piece of artillery. The enemy did not then, however, offer us any further molestation.

It was now, that Col. Dow communicated to me his intention of quitting the detachment, and proceeding to the coast next morning. This, at the time, did certainly appear to me an extraordinary resolution; and I did not hesitate to tell him honestly that it would be so considered. His reply was—"that he deemed it indispensibly necessary, before he could enter upon any further proceeding, to consult his brother commissioners at Mahé; and that he must stand or fall by his correspondence." I was myself not sorry to be relieved from a situation into which I had been inadvertently drawn; and yet I felt

a jealous repugnance to leave the detachment at such a crisis. But I found that my commander's resolution was unalterable; and to urge any thing further on my part might have been considered disrespectful. At the same time, I never doubted the ability of Maj. Cameron, to conduct the detachment in its retreat.

The night again passed in perfect quiet; and the ensuing morning, about 8 o'clock, and after breakfast, accompanied by a Jummadaur's escort of about 30 men, and leaving the command to Maj. Cameron, we proceeded to descend the gauht. On this occasion, ordering my bearers with the miaunah to follow, I commenced the descent on my crutches; but had not long continued my progress, when I found that, with his habitual abstraction of mind, the Colonel had marched on with the escort, far out of sight or hearing; thus leaving me at a distance in the rear, with no other protection than that which would be derived from two sepoy orderlies. It was God's providence that even this slender protection remained with me; for, a very little while afterwards, they called my attention to the forest acclivity, about a musket-shot to our left, where I immediately perceived several of the enemy stealing hastily along, as if to take possession of some spot from whence they might securely assail us.

I sent, therefore, one of the sepoys on, to request that the Colonel would halt the escort until I could come up, as I believed we were about to be attacked. Fortunately, the sepoy overtook the Colonel some distance in front, and the party stood fast until I joined them. We had proceeded not more, perhaps, than 200 or 300 yards on our march, when we came to a shallow rivulet, which made an opening both to the right and left. Our first red coat had scarcely appeared in the opening, when a sharp fire of musketry, from among the rocks and trees on our right, and a discharge of arrows from the forest range on

our left, commenced upon us. The fire of musketry was certainly within the distance of 30 or 40 yards.

In crossing the rivulet, it was necessary that I should plant my crutches with the most deliberate caution, among the slippery pebbles, which covered the bottom; and many a shot, and many an arrow, dashed the water up between my crutches; and it was certainly almost a miracle, that I should have gained the opposite side unscathed. And here, in justice to the memory of a brave man, long since departed to his eternal rest, I must acknowledge the surprise which I felt at the energy, activity, and ardour, which seemed, in a moment, to animate the entire frame of Col. Dow. The unfaltering coolness with which he gave his orders, and arranged our little party for defence, brought conviction home to me, that it only required a crisis of actual danger, to awaken in him faculties that would have rendered him a bright example to the service.

The scattered fire of our party, separately dispersed among the trees, although we could only aim at the smoke of the enemy's pieces, succeeded, nevertheless, in a short time, in beating them off; for they now retired, either in consequence of some alarm from the rear (for a party had been ordered to our support, by Maj. Cameron, the moment he heard the firing in the gauht) or that they had suffered some loss from our musketry. At all events, this was the last we either saw, or heard of them.

We then prosecuted our march, or, as the Colonel good humouredly expressed it, "kept moving," until the forenoon was considerably advanced, when we came to another rivulet, broader and deeper than that on which we had experienced our perilous escape. By this time my strength had completely failed me, and a painful cramp having seized the calf of my leg, I sunk down exhausted, and almost fainting, in the middle of the stream. In this situation the sepoys, by my direction, poured water over my head and

shoulders; and in an instant I felt myself surprisingly refreshed. In a few minutes I was assisted to the top of the opposite bank; which being more elevated than that which we had just quitted, offered a position from which we might oppose any further attempt on the part of the enemy, with greater advantage. The surrounding scenery was also become more open, than exactly suited their system of warfare.

Seated on this bank, I found my strength, notwithstanding, so entirely exhausted by a walk on crutches of 6 or 8 miles, that I was compelled to the necessity of declaring that I could proceed no further; and I already considered that I was about to terminate my career under the Nair knife;* for it was notorious that they gave no quarter. The Colonel happened to have with him a Mozambique slave, of athletic proportions, and great muscular strength; and by desire of his master, this man consented to take me on his back: but he had scarcely borne me 100 yards, when he complained that my weight was so great, that he could carry me no further, and he accordingly let me down. My clothes had, indeed, become so saturated with moisture, by my drenching in the river, and every muscle in my frame so entirely relaxed by fatigue, that my weight must have been nearly doubled, and I could not be much surprised at what he did. Again the goodness of Providence interposed in my behalf; for the sepoys now volunteered to bear me out of danger. Having procured a pole from the adjoining jungle, they fastened together two of their kamlies, or hair-rugs, and, tying them at both ends to the pole, they formed a sort of hammock, in which being placed, I was thus carried on without further detention.

It was, however, not very long before we emerged from the jungle into the open country, a little above

* The warrior tribe of Malabar Nairs usually carry a naked knife, of very formidable appearance and dimension, in their hand.—Ed.

the small station, on the north bank of the river of Mahé; called, as far as I can recollect, Parkarote. Hence, turning a short distance to the northward, perhaps an 100 or 200 yards, we were conducted to a very substantial Mopla house. We were taken to the upper part of the building, into an open gallery, balustraded all round; the roof projecting to a considerable distance beyond the body of the building. Here we were in sufficient security against attack; the gallery sloping outwards above the parts below, so as to admit of our firing on the heads of any assailants. Here, after partaking of a simple curry, it being now late in the afternoon, we laid ourselves down on some floor mats, and slept without either awaking, or thinking of an enemy, until breakfast time the next morning.

While we were at breakfast, a report was brought us that a number of sepoys were at that moment issuing from the opening in the jungle, from which we had made our egress the preceding day. This proved to be the advanced guard, commanded by Capt. Disney, of the main body of the detachment, under Maj. Cameron; now also on its retreat down the Cherrum. Capt. Disney, although attacked on his march, effected his passage without loss; which was certainly surprising, when we considered that the enemy fired in perfect security from behind the trees and inaccessible rocks. Capt. Disney gave a written report of the circumstances of his passage; which was as graphic as it was interesting. Having directed him to post his people, together with the 30 men which had composed our escort, near the opening of the jungle, in such order as to flank the detachment, under Maj. Cameron, if hard pressed in his retreat, which we did not expect, Col. Dow accompanied by myself, proceeded on board a large canoe with out-rigger, in which we dropped down the placid river to the once French settlement of Mahé; where, without further incident, we arrived in the course of the day.

We were hospitably received by Mr. Law, one of

the gentlemen of the Bombay civil service, attached to the province of Malabar; at whose house I was immediately put to bed, under violent feverish irritation, occasioned by so much fatigue and excitement. This was, however, soon allayed, and in a few days we quitted Mahé, after Col. Dow had held his conference with the commissioners; and I returned to my old friend Gen. Bowles' quarters, at Caddouly hill, in Tillicherry.

While at Mahé, the details reached us of the disastrous circumstances of Maj. Cameron's retreat. He fell in the disorderly conflict; as did his Adjutant, Lieut. Nugent, whom I have already mentioned, as a very gallant and promising young soldier. On this fatal occasion, he proved himself worthy of the highest encomium; for when the native officer who carried one of the colours of the battalion, was killed, he immediately disengaged the colour from the staff, and wrapping it round his waist, soon after fell, mortally wounded. The circumstances of Maj. Cameron's death were never reported. The total loss sustained by the detachment was never correctly ascertained. At first it was supposed to have been most serious, independently of the death of two gallant officers; but many supposed to have been killed, contrived to escape among the jungles, and subsequently joined their corps.

It was thought by many that, in part at least, this disaster might have been avoided; and that was by abandoning the baggage, instead of suffering it, with the crowd of bullocks, to choke the narrow passage of the gauht; so as to much impede the movements of the men. This was, however, an alternative, to which Maj. Cameron, who was one of our bravest officers, could not submit, any more than to leave the little grasshopper, which was lost in the confusion. My bearers contrived to escape by throwing down my palanquin; but my poor Mussulman, Hookah-burdaur, was killed on the spot. The palanquin being observed overturned by the side of the narrow

road, and my cloak hanging over the side, the report was circulated that I had shared his fate; because, at the time, I happened to wear a green undress frock-coat, and the green lining of the boat cloak seemed to account for the report.

In his report of the circumstances attending his march, Capt. Disney stated that, at the commencement of every attack, he heard the small shrill note, of what he considered a slender reed pipe. During our descent, I had heard a similar note, which I conceived to have been either that of a forest bird, or the sound occasioned, perhaps, by the collision of some clusters of bamboo, agitated by the passing breezes.

While at Tillicherry, a report was drawn up by me, in detail, of our proceedings; from the period of our departure from Calicut, up to that of our return to Mahé. It was addressed to Gen. Stuart, the Com.-in-Ch. of the Bombay army; who, as I was subsequently informed by his secretary, Maj. Walker, declared it to have been the only intelligible account which he had yet received of the transactions in Malabar. It devolved to me also, and curiously enough, in competiton with Capt. (since Maj.-Gen.) Lewis, to draw up a memorial to the commissioners at Mahé. Col. Dow, from a partiality, perhaps, of which he might not have been aware, adopted that of his officiating secretary; for I certainly could not have become better informed in the affairs of Malabar, than Capt. Lewis, who had for many years resided in that province.*

I must not omit to state, that at the expiration of two or three days after our return to Tillicherry, I accompanied Col. Dow to visit the division under

* It seems necessary to explain why any *curiosity* attaches to this "competition." It was, perhaps, that Capt. Lewis succeeded Maj. Price, in the office of judge-advocate, of the Bombay army. The office was then designated judge-advocate general. Capt. Lewis was a particular friend of Col. Dow's; and a known skilful penman. —Ed.

Col. Anderson; which was on its return from a march to the foot of the Cotiary gauht, towards its fixed station at Cotapoorambah; and this right across the line of our retreat from the Periacherrum. As the immediate district was at this moment in the power of the insurgents, we halted for the night at Cudroor, a Nair fortified house, about midway between Tillicherry and Cotapoorambah. The access to the interior of this mansion was by a ladder, to an upper door, about 20 feet from the ground; which, rendered it pretty secure against attack without artillery. The ladder of ascent was nothing but the stem of a tree, with notches cut into it for steps; and I experienced some difficulty in getting to the top. In the course of the afternoon, we heard several discharges of musketry; which we were next day informed had been occasioned by some vexatious and desultory attempts on the part of the enemy, to harrass the detachment on its march to Cotapoorambah.

Next morning we quitted our snug retreat, at Cudroor house, with our small escort of sepoys; and pushing at quick time along the open track of rice-grounds, flanked on either side by a suspicious looking jungle, we reached the station at Cotapoorambah, without either attack or accident, early in the forenoon.

We found the troops under Col. Anderson disposed round the large tank, and in the dilapidated buildings along the sides. At present there appeared to be a dead stop to our operations against the Cotiote insurgents: any attack on the interior of that forest-covered district, with our then existing force, being considered worse than useless; and a wanton sacrifice of human life, to no purpose whatever.

While we remained at Cotapoorambah, Col. (since Lieut.-Gen.) Nicholson, of the Bombay engineers, had occasion to visit the station; and on his way from Tillicherry, with an escort of provisions, had personal experience of what the troops were exposed to on these

ndispensible duties; for his approach to the post was early announced, by a sharp fire of musketry, kept up between the escort and the enemy, in the ungle on their flanks, while they were proceeding ılong the centre of the open rice grounds, between Cudroor house and Cotapoorambah. There was, however, no mischief done; and the Colonel, who had ıot for years, been within the range of an angry nusket-shot, seemed not a little rejoiced to find himself among his friends. He had lost a leg, it might ɔe noted, in a campaign of his early service.

Col. Anderson, who had most justly the character ɔf an excellent officer, as was eminently proved by the skill of his arrangements, in maintaining and proriding for the subsistence of the station at Cotapoorambah, was nevertheless, of a disposition not the most accommodating in the world; and with whom official communication, therefore, presented nothing very agreeable, or inviting. I accordingly, soon discovered that he and I were not likely to coalesce. I had, indeed, already given offence, by openly expressing an opinion averse to the fire-and-sword-system, hitherto pursued; and he had, I thought, very significantly remarked, that the service had never prospered, since subalterns had presumed to give their opinions. At all events, and all things considered, I took an early opportunity of signifying to Col. Dow, that it was my intention of returning to my duties at the Presidency by the first conveyance from Malabar.

In justice to the memory of a meritorious officer, long since in his grave, I am, nevertheless, anxious to state, that were it not for notions pre-conceived of his intemperate violence, on the information of those who had been in collision with him, I do not think I should have been quite so sensitive to Col. Anderson's behaviour. Indeed, he acknowledged some time afterwards, that his offensive remark was not intended to apply to me, but to another person; and, moreover,

that when I was yet young in the service, he had designed to offer me the Adjutancy of his battalion, whenever he should have succeeded to the command of one. Of all this, however, I was not aware, until a period long subsequent; but no circumstance could have any weight in detracting from my opinion of his conspicuous merit; for I entertained the fullest persuasion, as did my excellent friend Col. Walker, that the service did not possess an officer more devoted to its interests, or better qualified to conduct the native branch of it, than Col. Anderson.

A day or two after I had communicated my intention to Col. Dow, he accompanied me to Tillicherry; and I again found my home under the roof of my old friend, Gen. Bowles.

I should have considered myself among the most ungrateful of mankind, if, from my first supply of money, I had omitted to distribute among the sepoys of the escort, by whom I had been rescued from almost certain destruction, such pecuniary acknowledgement as I could then afford. At this moment it is still to me a subject of gratifying reflection, that the men who thus came forward to my aid, at a crisis so perilous, had, many of them, formerly belonged to the old 2nd batt. in which I was so many years a subaltern; and that the recognition was not without some weight, in prevailing on them to become my bearers on the occasion. The only one, however, whom I myself could recognize among them, was a very dark complexioned Purwary havaldaur; whom I well remembered to have been present, with poor Ross and myself, in the action on Hyder gauht.* A period of more than 10 years, had, indeed, elapsed, since I had been removed from that battalion.

The circumstances of my narrow escape on the Wynaud expedition, were mentioned, as I understood, in the Madras Courier of the time; and may

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* See page 114.

be found in the file of that paper, under the year 1798. I have not been able from recollection to fix upon the month.

The arrival in Tillicherry roads, a few days afterwards, of Governor Duncan, and of Gen. Stuart, (Trimmel Row, as he was called by the Madrassers) our Com.-in-Ch. with their staff, and sundry reinforcements, had the effect of hastening my departure; for on going on board, to do homage to these high authorities, I was apprized by both, that Sir Charles Malet, who had been placed in the temporary Government, during the absence of Mr. Duncan, had desired that I should be immediately permitted to return to Bombay; where it was his intention to employ me, as Persian translator to Government, during the period he might be destined to occupy the chair. As this was a situation to which, although I once aspired, but which had long since ceased to be the object of any hope with me, the message was equally flattering to my ambition, and to my views, of pecuniary advantage. And I now only awaited the opportunity of some returning ship, to take my departure for the Presidency.

Before I finally quit the coast of Malabar on this occasion, I must be permitted to observe, that I did not engage without considerable reluctance, in these hostile proceedings against the unfortunate Rajah of Cotiote. And for this it may be well that I should offer something in explanation; although strictly speaking, the course of duty does not admit that a soldier should deliberate.

It was generally understood, with what foundation I cannot pretend to say, that while engaged in the eventful contest with the tyrant of Mysore, Lord Cornwallis did hold out to the petty Rajahs of Malabar, among these to the Pyché Rajah in particular, some promise, either written or verbal, of independence; on the condition that, in some way or other, they would co-operate against the common enemy.

On the termination of the war, therefore, when it was perceived that the transactions in Malabar were little in accordance with the cherished views of independence; and that the conduct of our Government was any thing rather than encouraging to the disappointed Rajah; many reflecting individuals, myself among the number, unreservedly exclaimed against this apparent violation of good faith. It is, however, not to be denied, that, although such promise, either implied or expressed, might have been held out, still, powerful reasons might have existed to render it necessary, that such a promise should be materially modified in the performance; lest from the notoriously turbulent, and refractory, character of the Nair race, it might prove inconsistent with the acquired rights and interests of the paramount State.

Under considerations such as the last, it was probable that the newly-appointed authorities in Malabar, conceived themselves impelled to act; and once committed, there seemed no alternative but to proceed. Indeed, one of the most respectable and intelligent of the commissioners, the late Mr. Rivett Carnac, afterwards a member of council at Bombay, and, for a while acting Governor, acknowledged to me, at a subsequent period, that they were in a manner spell-bound, to follow the system put in train by their predecessors.

As there was nothing to detain me longer at Tillicherry, I took my departure for Bombay: but, during what month, or by what conveyance, I have not retained the slightest recollection. The voyage seems, however, to have been of moderate duration, and without incident; and I reached the Presidency, I should conceive, either the latter end of April, or beginning of May, 1798. I was kindly received by Sir Charles Malet, the acting Governor; and put in immediate possession of my office as Persian translator, and of my place at the Governor's table. At

the same time, I rented the lower corner house close to the south end of the Rope-walk, near the Apollogate. The other officers of the acting Governor's staff, were, Mr. de Ponthieu, as private secretary, and Maj. Benjamin Forbes, of H.M. 75th regt. (since Maj.-Gen.) and Capt. Jeremy Ward, aides-de-camp.

The period of many months which succeeded, was, perhaps, one of the very pleasantest of my life; for, independently of the sumptuousness of our entertainments at the Government house, the uniform kindness, tempered as it was with dignity, of Sir Charles Malet, rendered the comforts of his family such, as to communicate to all of us, an unusual degree of happiness. At the same time, I possessed the best opportunities for the improvement of my knowledge in Persian, by the constant routine of business in the translator's office, under my superintendance; in which I was assisted by a very intelligent and able old Moonshy, who had for many years served in the same department.

During this period, the hospitality of the acting Governor was also liberally experienced, by many a visitor to the Presidency; and among others might be mentioned, the Hon. Frederick North,* on his way to the Government of Ceylon; and Gen. Sir James Craig, on his passage from the Cape of Good Hope, to the Presidency of Bengal; at which he had been appointed Com.-in-Ch. They were each of them accompanied by a personal staff.

But this period was too happy to last for ever. Soon after the rainy season of 1798, Sir Charles Malet took his departure for England; and our family broke up for their several stations. My appointment as Persian translator expired, with the departure of Sir Charles Malet: for I regret to say, that he considered the appointment more properly suited to the civil service. It had, however, been

* Afterwards Lord Guilford.

long held by military men. Captains Sandiford and Wilson were those who last held it. And, impartially speaking, it is sometimes thought that the man should be suited to the appointment, not the appointment made for the man.

That this brief hint at disappointed ambition, should have been once permitted to drop from my pen, I have only to offer as an apology, that for the time, it abridged me of my last hope of independence; for the appointment yielded a regular income of 500 rupees a month; which I could have laid by without inconvenience. And I was now to fall back to my ordinary resources; my Captain's pay, and that of my office of judge-advocate. However, those splendid events were now approaching, which opened to brighter prospects; and, under Providence, ultimately furnished me with those means of honest competence, after which my heart had been long yearning; and which rendered me, at last, independent of either the frowns or favours of the great.

It will probably have been observed, that for many circumstances of my story, I have, for some years back, been reduced to the necessity of relying upon the resources of a defective memory. Hence, the omission in their proper places, of many an occurrence illustrative of my humble progress through life; which it would be now impossible, without confusion, to introduce into my narrative. I have, however, now before me, the means of tracing every circumstance for the future, from the pages of my journal, written at the spur of the moment, and on the facts and dates of which, I can place the fullest reliance. And in my estimation, at all events, they certainly do not contain that portion of my story, either on private or public consideration, which is least deserving of attention.

Towards the conclusion of the year 1798, certain indiscreet proceedings on the part of Tippoo Sultaun,

in his communications with some of the French functionaries, at the Mauritius; to which Monsieur Malartic, the principal, had given absurd and premature notoriety, could scarcely have occurred, without awakening the suspicions of the British Government in India; then, fortunately, under the vigorous administration of the Earl of Mornington. Accordingly, arrangements were early put in train, in order to frustrate any hostile designs that might be in agitation in that quarter. The events that followed, as far as I became a witness, and particularly as far as relates to the operations of the Bombay army, in the field, will be very faithfully detailed in the journal, which, without further preliminary, I shall now submit to the reader.

Bombay, Friday, 25th Jan. 1799.—About 9 in the morning, while taking a farewell breakfast with my old friend, Gen. Bowles, at his house, near the rampart, and about half-way between the church and bazaar gates of Bombay fort, we were both of us completely stunned, by two tremendous explosions, in quick succession, and as loud as the loudest thunder, that I have ever heard; and for which, at the moment, we were at a loss to account. Our apprehensions were, that one of the powder magazines in the castle had blown up. We were, however, soon relieved from this appalling alarm, by information, that, through one of those accidents, which neither foresight nor invention hath yet enabled us to avert, the powder works at Mazagon, had exploded. The rock stratification probably, leading direct from the spot to the General's house, although at the distance of at least three miles, was the cause that the shock should have been so sensibly felt; for so violent was the effect, that, like what is produced by the operation of an electric battery, it made me, for the moment, quite sick at heart.

I was at the time just about to embark on board the Contribution store-ship, Capt. Taylor, to join the

army, about to take the field from Malabar, against the Sultaun of Mysore. These awful explosions, therefore, at such a time, could not but awaken some very serious reflections, as to the result of the momentous undertaking in which we were about to be engaged.

26th Jan.—Having quitted Bombay harbour in the course of yesterday, we proceeded on our coasting voyage southward, and passing fort Victoria, or Bankoote, on the 27th; Vingorla rocks, on the 28th; Pigeon island, on the 29th; Mt. Dilla, on the 30th; we arrived at Cananore on the 31st; and landed about 11 in the forenoon. We found the army encamped, under Maj.-Gen. Hartly, on the heights, about two miles N.N.W. of the fort—comprising a force of 1,250 Europeans, and 3,000 native infantry, exclusive of artillery; and a corps 600 strong, detached in advance, at the foot of the Poodicherrum gauht, under Maj. Disney. The heavy ordnance and 18-pound shot, had been forwarded up the Balliaputtun, or Bilipatam, river, to Eircour, some days since.

On our passage, we saw H.M. ship Trident (64) carrying Adml. Rainier's flag, and the Earl Howe, and Royal Charlotte, armed ships, crusing on the coast.*

Sunday, 3rd Feb.—I visited my friend Capt. Jeremy Ward, who commanded a corps of Tiers at Tillicherry; and obtained from him a most seasonable supply of pack bullocks and ponies, as well as an excellent single-pole fly tent.

4th Feb.—About 9 in the morning, on my way from Tillicherry, I heard the salute, on Gen. Stuart's landing at Cananore; and this night, for the first time, on the present occasion, I slept in camp.

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* For the reasons given in the note, at page 318, the daily occurrences of the voyage from Bombay to Cananore, have been omitted, or abridged.—Ed.

7th Feb.—Officiated at a general court-martial, on a private, in H.M. 77th regt. for deserting. He was found guilty, and condemned to die.

I was this day in orders as Persian translator to to the Com.-in-Ch. through the intervention of my friend Col. Walker, our Quarter-master General; my other kind friend, Col. Gordon, being Adjutant-General; so that my interest at court was pretty strong.

The army was brigaded in the following order:—the right brigade, consisting of the 1st of the 2nd, and 1st of the 3rd, native batts. under Lieut.-Col. Montresor. To the left of these, the corps of artillery. In the centre, was the European brigade, consisting of the flank companies of H.M. 75th, the whole of H.M. 77th, and the Bombay regt. under Lieut.-Col. Dunlop; and the left brigade consisted of the 2nd of the 2nd, 2nd of the 3rd, and 1st of the 5th, native batts. under Lieut.-Col. Wiseman, of the Bombay army.

The whole force, including artillery and the corps in advance, might, therefore, be fairly estimated at something under 5,000 men.

8th Feb.—Great quantities of artillery stores had by this time been forwarded towards the Poodicherrum. The Rajah of Coorg is spoken of in strains of the highest encomium, for his zeal and active exertions in collecting grain and forage for the army. Not so of Shanmaut and Moossa,* who were blamed for their unaccountable backwardness, in the fulfilment of their contracts. The right brigade marched this day for Eircour.

9th Feb.—As an awful and salutary example to the army, the deserter was shot this day, in conformity with his sentence; he met his death with resignation, expressing a hope that his fate might prove a seasonable warning to his fellow soldiers.

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* Influential Mahommedan (Mopla) inhabitants of Malabar.—Ed.

Here I cannot omit to place on record, the names of the several individuals who composed the General Staff of our field army, in this memorable campaign:—

Maj.-Gen. James Stuart, Commander-in-Chief.
Maj.-Gen. James Hartley, Second in Command.
Lieut.-Col. Gordon, Adjutant-General.
Lieut.-Col. Alexander Walker, Quarter-master General and Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief.
Maj. Jacob Thompson, Commissary of Stores.
Maj. John Bailie, Second in Command of Artillery.
Col. Sartorius, Chief Engineer.
Capt. James Stuart, (son of Commander-in-Chief) and
Capt. Campbell, Aides de Camp, to Commander-in-Chief.
Capt. James Baird, Department of Guides and Intelligence.
Capt. James Lloyd, Commissary of Cattle.
Capt. Joseph Watson, Malabar Interpreter.
Capt. Robert Lewis, Aide de Camp to Gen. Hartley.
Capt. Dennis Mahoney, ditto: but Political Resident in Coorg.
Capt. David Price, Judge-Advocate and Persian Translator.
Robert Taylor, Esq. Commissary and Pay-master General.
David Inglis and William Crawford, Esqrs. his assistants.

In the above list are contained some of my best and oldest friends, most of whom have long since passed the viewless barrier which separates time from eternity. Among those must be especially named, my excellent and highly valued friend, Walker: than whom a braver officer, or a more humane and upright man, cannot exist.

Sunday, 10th Feb.—At such a moment, it cannot be supposed, but that conjecture was wide afloat, as to the measures which the Sultaun might adopt, to meet the conflict with which he was threatened, on every side. The general conclusion, even then, seems to have been, that he would expose himself to the hazard of a siege, within the walls of his capital; which he was reported to have greatly strengthened —particularly on the north face; being the side indicated for attack by the operations of Lord Cornwallis, at the close of the former war. Common prudence would, however, seem to dictate to him the

plan of keeping the field with his cavalry, and confiding the defence of his capital to some of his best officers; while he should himself direct his efforts to operate upon our communications, and cut off our supplies. That the Bombay division, in its utmost force, would scarcely suffice as a baggage guard to the enormous train of artillery, stores, provisions, and camp equipage, was very obvious; and it was sometimes speculated, even at this period, that a well-timed, and well-concerted attack, upon our division, thus heavily encumbered, might have been attended with consequences too serious to contemplate without apprehension. To foresee the possibility of such a contingency, was, however, sufficient, perhaps, to avert the danger.

11th Feb.—The whole of the artillery stores were this day clear off, in advance towards Eircour, at the foot of the Poodicherrum. The Restoration, country ship, anchored in the roads, with a most seasonable supply of rice, from Bengal.

12th Feb.—I this day received a letter from my friend, Capt. Moor (he also had been included in the recent brevet, for 15 years' service)—and I cannot omit here stating, that it was at his suggestion I canvassed the army for the appointment of prize-agent, in which I was eminently successful. At the time the suggestion was given, I am persuaded that neither my kind friend nor myself, had made any adequate calculation as to the magnificent result; either to myself, as a private individual, or to the general stability of the British Empire in India.

Intelligence from Srirungooputtun (the true name, be it remembered, of Seringapatam) by way of Calicut, announced that the whole of Tippoo's army was in the field.

14th Feb.—The Trident, flag-ship, and other armed vessels, anchored in the bay.

16th Feb.—Having received from my friend Capt. Mears, at Surat, a most seasonable supply of camp baskets, I transferred my equipment to the rising

ground in the rear of our camp, pointed out for head-quarters. The difficulty with which, from the wild and unbroken state of my cattle department, this previous movement was effected, although the distance was barely 1½ mile, furnished but a discouraging fore-taste of what was to come. The progress of our field train in the ascent of the Poodicherrum, reported to be but slow.

Sunday, 17th Feb.—I embraced the opportunity of writing to Capt. Moor, by my Parsee servant, Mootabhy; who had lived with me for many years, and was a very intelligent and honest man. He became, however, so discouraged by what he had experienced, from the unruly state of my cattle, during yesterday's movements, that he earnestly requested I would allow him to return, from these turbulent scenes to his quiet abode at Bombay: as he confessed himself quite unequal to the task of keeping my field equipment in any kind of order. Although the inconvenience was sufficiently irksome, I had no alternative but compliance. I may observe, that at the time, my camp and other followers, amounted to 35 men of all descriptions; including a judge-advocate's clerk, and a Persian Moonshy.

13 Feb.—A Persian letter was now written, under the General's instructions, to the Diwan, or minister, at Travancore; requesting that one or two of the Travancore disciplined battalions might be stationed in Malabar, during the absence of the British troops.

19th Feb.—Intelligence from our advanced posts announced in the course of the day, that a force of the Sultaun's troops was assembled at Periapatam, to the number of 4,000 horse and 5,000 foot.

21st Feb. 1799—At half-past 6 in the morning, our whole line, consisting now of the European brigade only, with Lieut.-Col. Marshall's battalion, as a rear guard, marched from the heights near Cananore. At 8 o'clock, I reached the ground at Corally, intended for our encampment; the distance

being about 7 miles by the Pioneers' road. This short march was only designed to give to the camp followers something of a lesson, as to the manner in which they were to accompany the movements of the troops; and at the same time to shake off superfluous incumbrances. Our course was, for the most part, in an easterly direction. The country undulating, and covered with stunted trees, and brushwood, with a cultivated spot at intervals. The advanced guard was up at 9, and the main body a few minutes afterwards. The rear guard did not reach the ground until within half an hour of noon; one of the treasure tumbrel wheels having broke down during the march. It was natural to remark that, as a first step towards an enterprize of such magnitude, this was a day of awful importance to British India. A successful issue would secure our Empire for years to come; but defeat would shake it to the very foundation.

22nd Feb.—We marched a few minutes after five in the morning; the scenery varying as we advanced; and by the more vigorous growth of the trees, indicating our approach to the great western gauhts. They appeared in the distance, in their usual grandeur; their dark and precipitous summits beetling, like a rampart of granite, as if to bid defiance to all access from below. The march was materially impeded by the craziness of the treasure tumbrels.

In the march we passed several of those pleasing recesses in the jungle, so refreshing to the wearied, and so favourable to contemplation. About half-past 8 o'clock we reached Eircour, a Moplah village, on the N. bank of a branch of the Beliapatam river; there a transparent stream on a bed of pebbles and gravel.

This village lay in the Cherical district; our route during the previous part of the march leading through that of Cotiote; along an elevated ridge, with many an abrupt descent.

Resuming our march, we came, at the distance of about 2½ miles, to Calliaud; this was about 10 o'clock. Between 12 and 1 in the afternoon, the head of the line came up, and the remainder about a quarter of an hour afterwards; the whole much jaded with heat and fatigue. The jungle was just thick enough to exclude the refreshing breeze, but not sufficiently so to protect us from the scorching rays of the sun. Our line was formed to the left of the road, extending nearly E. and W.

About 150 Europeans had dropped to the rear; exhausted, not less by the heat of the day, than by the labour of dragging on the money tumbrels; they were, however, brought up in the course of the afternoon by the hospital department: the baggage was not up until much later in the afternoon; and it kept dropping in, at intervals, until 10 at night. The ascent from Eircour was abrupt; but became gradual as we advanced. Our course being generally N.E. and the whole distance of our march about 12 miles.

23rd Feb.—The line halted this day, that the troops might recover from the exhaustion of the preceding day's march.

Sunday, 24th Feb.—At half-after 4 in the morning, I quitted the ground at Calliaud; where, notwithstanding information to the contrary, good water was to be found in abundance; and a little after 6 o'clock, we halted near a tank, in a pleasant recess in the jungle, and among tall clusters of the bamboo. This was the spot called by our troops, in the former Mysore war, "Dove Grove." Having rested for about 20 minutes, I continued my journey until 7 in the morning, to Viatour; which I then reached, after a severe tug of 25 minutes, up the hill of the same name. The line did not leave its ground until half-after 5 in the morning. A descent, still more rapid, brought us at half-past 8, to the banks of "Stony river"—so denominated by our troops in the former

war. The road from Calliaud to Viatour was, for the greater part, in descent; that is to say, from Calliaud to Dove Grove, 6½ miles; from the latter place to Viatour, 1½; and from Viatour to Stony river, probably 6 miles. In all, about 14 miles—the direction of the march about N.E. by N. The road from Viatour to Stony river, well covered from the sun, being almost within the shadow of the mountain forest. The leading part of the line did not reach its halting place until about half-past 1 in the afternoon.

25th Feb.—Continuing to precede the column of march, I quitted the ground near Stony river, at 1 in the morning, and 10 minutes after, commenced the actual ascent of the Poodicherrum gauht; the summit of which we gained about 20 minutes after 3, having been 2 hours in surmounting the pitches of this most fatiguing of all the gauhts that I had seen; being the last of seven. The landing or resting places were, however, frequent enough: but the very rapid pitches and obliquities, particularly during the last part of the way, were such as to render the ascent, on the whole, beyond measure difficult and laborious. The distance from top to bottom, I estimated at about 5 miles.

A barrier gate was about 1½ mile within, or to the eastward, of the summit of the gauht; and immediately beyond the barrier, was the ground destined for our encampment; being the same ground, formerly occupied by the Bombay army, under Gen. Sir Robert Abercromby. The scenery around would, indeed, bear a parallel with some of the noblest parks in England, studded, as it then was, with verdant and beautifully wooded knolls, and shut in, at intervals, by the deep shade of the surrounding forests.

The whole of the guns, that is, the field train, which left the ground at Stony river, at half-past 5 in the morning, were at the summit of the pass by 2 in the afternoon.

About 4 in the afternoon, the Coorga Rajah paid his visit of welcome to Gen. Stuart; and experienced that reception, to which he was eminently entitled, by his exertions to promote the success of our operations, and the interests of the British government, on this, and former occasions.

The Sultaun's force at Periaputtun, near the boundary of the Coorg district, was now diminished, by the bazaar reports, to 2,200 men. Capt. Baird, however, the head of the department of guides and intelligence, who had reconnoitred the boundary near Seediseir hill (Sidiswara) considered the number of the enemy, as much exaggerated. And yet, it would not appear probable, that the Sultaun could have left his frontier exposed, with much smaller numbers, to the inroads of the hostile Coorgs.

26th and 27th Feb.—Were days of necessary rest to the troops. In the course of the latter day, I attended the Com.-in-Ch. and his staff, on his visit to the Rajah, at Veir Rajender peint; a village in the valley on the Poodicherrum, or western side of the Muggul, or Mugly, pass, consisting of about 400 houses; and which had rapidly sprung up under the fostering hand of this very singular and energetic man. Eight years back, there was not on the spot, perhaps the vestige of a human being. The title which our friend the Rajah had assumed, was Veir Rajender Warreir; and the name of the place might, very properly, be rendered into Veir-rajender-puttun —the city or town of Veir Rajender.

Considering the very limited scale of his resources, the zeal and exertions of the Rajah, did certainly appear surprising; when it became known that in the space of six weeks, he had amassed for the supply of the army, what was equal to 50,000 maunds of rice. This, at 28lb. to the maund, would amount to about 1,400,000lb. weight; or about one month's supply for 50,000 men. This could not have been accomplished, otherwise than under his immediate

controul; stimulated, perhaps, by the assiduity and attention of Capt. Mahoney, the British political agent, residing with him. But altogether these circumstances bespoke, on his part, a zeal and attachment, which could not but pre-eminently entitle him to the most distinguished marks of regard from the British government.

He appeared, when I saw him last, as active in body as in mind; he wore buck-skin small clothes, and English boots. He expressed the utmost confidence of success, in the momentous enterprize in which we were about to engage: even thus early, bargaining for the lion's skin, by making as a particular request to the General, that he might be favoured with two of the Sultaun's best chargers. He once or twice referred in a tone of indifference, to his formidable neighbour, under the ordinary name of Tippoo Saheb; as to whose movements we were still completely in the dark. Neither did we, indeed, derive any thing from this visit, that could throw a light upon the subject: and this, doubtless, from the rigid, and severe, police, established throughout the territory of Mysore. From common report, however, the Sultaun was at his capital on the 21st or 22nd inst.

The terms of fervent gratitude, in which the Rajah expressed himself, when he spoke of the 8 years of tranquility, and unclouded happiness, which he had enjoyed under the shadow of the British flag, bespoke not less the greatness of his heart, than the soundness of his judgement: for under every vicissitude—and he had, though unappalled, been a witness to some very serious ones—he had evinced his conviction, that with our fortune he must have stood or fallen.

As far as I could judge, the new peint was situated at the distance of about 6 miles to the N.E. of the stockade and barrier gate, at the summit.

28th Feb.—Having written to my friend Capt.

Moor, on matters of agency, I rode in the course of the day to the site, of what was called fort Abercromby, at the head of the Poodicherrum; with a design of taking a farewell view of the sea. In this I was disappointed through the haziness of the atmosphere, and the rolling mists below. In my way back to camp, I accosted, near the Moodikhanah, or Commissary's depôt, with a sort of melancholy concern, our two young assistants in the pay-master and commissary department—Messrs. Inglis and Crawford—immersed, as they were, amidst rice bags and borachios of ghee—I had almost said "sitting like Marius among the ruins of Carthage." The change with them was, indeed, most violent, from the polished and elegant circles, in which they had so recently been accustomed to move at the Presidency. They were, at that time, two of the finest young men in the army, both as to person and ability; and if that were any consolation, under this their temporary exile, they were known to possess the general respect of their fellow campaigners.*

It was announced that the army was to march on the day following.

1st. March.—The European, or centre brigade, with the park of artillery, and the 3rd. Native batt. made a movement in advance this morning. The head-quarters, and the two remaining battalions of the left brigade, remaining on their ground.

Sunday, 2nd March.—I left the ground near the Poodicherrum barrier, at day-break this morning; and at the distance of about 4 miles, overtook the rear of the park carriages. In an hour afterwards, I also came up with the 12-pounder field-pieces, ascending the Mugly pass, from Veir Rajender peint. This pitch

* These two gentlemen are now—1838—well known as of the first class of merchants of London—one of them being, indeed, M.P. for that city. And, it may be safely added, as highly respected now in England, as they were at Bombay and Mysore, in 1799.—Ed.

was by no means so considerable, as to deserve the name of a gauht, with which it had been dignified. At the foot of it, to the eastward, we passed over several cultivated flats, divided by lengthened belts of wood, for, perhaps, three miles, to the village of Amoutanair; of which, however, although considered one of the first importance in Coorg, I could discover no more than a few scattered cottages, peeping here and there among the bamboo jungles. These latter commence pretty thickly from this spot.

As we advanced, the bamboo jungle gradually thickened, until we passed the first barrier, a gateway in a sort of stockade, with a ditch and wide interlaced hedge of stakes and thorn, along the front. This probably extended to the left, to the river Cavery; which lay at no great distance to the north. A little further on, still in the bamboo jungle, increasing in intricacy, we came to a second barrier of the same description, but of greater strength than the former; and yet further on we passed a third, the Seidapour barrier, superior in construction, to either of the preceding; with a chokey, or guard-hut, under the care of several armed Coorgs.

From this latter barrier, diverging a little to the left, and proceeding about a mile in a north-easterly direction, we came to the right, or south, bank of the Cavery, on which the European brigade and head-quarters, immediately encamped. The river here is stagnant, at least with no perceptible current, amidst over-hanging woods with steep banks; the direction of its course, from S.W. to N.E. The source of this celebrated river, which is here larger than the Krishna, at Waey, in the vale of Sattara, was stated to be above Nuknair; a favourite residence of the Rajah's, about 8 miles to the westward.

Our course, this day, as far as Veir-Rajender peint, is stated to have been W. by N. which is unaccountable, unless we were compelled to it by the obliquity of the valley. Thence to Amoutanair

N. by E. but from the latter place to the Cavery, our direction was easterly; the distance marched, about 16 miles.

The engineers' station for preparing facines and gabions, for the important siege in contemplation, was fixed between our encampment and the Seedapour barrier, and for this, the bamboo jungle furnished the most useful and abundant materials. To prevent alarm to the inhabitants of his country, the evening gun was discontinued, at the request of the Rajah.

Sunday, 3rd March.—Camp near the Seedapour barrier. We, this day, learnt that 300 of the 75th regt. had embarked at Bombay, on the 22nd Feb. destined to join this army. They were in sight at Cananore, on the 1st instant. The detachment of Bombay troops intended to act with the Mahrattas, was to proceed by the river of Gheriah.

With regard to appearances in our front, the enemy's sentinels were perceived prying about in the jungle, and two or three horsemen, with some followers on foot, traversing the cleared districts to the eastward, that is, in the direction of Periaputtun. Several guns, in the direction of Seringaputtun, were also heard in the course of the night, at our advanced post, near Seediseir hill, about 8 miles in our front.

From a reference to his order of battle, Gen. Harris would, at this period, appear to have had under his command, 6 regts. of European, and 11 batts. of native, infantry; with 2 regts. of European and 5 of native, cavalry; together with a formidable proportion of battering and field artillery. Upon a moderate calculation, his force could not well be estimated at more than 13,300 fighting men. This was, however, prior to his junction with that under Col. Roberts, expected to join Gen. Harris about the 17th Feb. when it might have been augmented to about 20,000 strong.

4th March.—Camp near Seedapour. A fire breaking out in the jungle near our park of artillery, in the course of yesterday, occasioned considerable alarm, for the safety of our ammunition stores; but it was fortunately subdued without injury. It was this day considered expedient to advance a Captain's piquet, on the road leading from our right flank, towards the post under Col. Montresor, near Seediseir hill; while every possible access seemed at this moment so vigilantly watched by the Coorgs, that there existed, in appearance, but little probability that the enemy, however enterprising, would be permitted to thread the jungle, without immediate discovery.

At such a time it was, however, matter of serious reflection, to contemplate the consequences, likely to follow even a partial failure in the momentous undertaking, to which we were now so deeply committed. In the event of any material check to the Bombay division, among the first of the untoward circumstances likely to occur, would be a renewal of hostilities, with which indeed we had been already threatened, on the part of our refractory tributaries in the rear; in whose breasts the sense of recent collision, only lay dormant, until a favourable opportunity of vengeance should arise. To avert this evil, as far as possible, it was suggested that the detachment now employed in protecting our intercourse with Cananore, should keep on the right, or N. side of Billiapatam river, from Eircour.

In the next place, on the unavoidable departure of the squadron of men-of-war, from the Malabar coast, on the approach of the S.W. monsoon, a dangerous opening would be left for the introduction of such succours from the Mauritius, as the French were, doubtless, watching their opportunity to convey; and the reinforcement of even 1,000 Europeans thrown into Seringaputtun, would certainly render the reduction of that place (and in a second expensive campaign) an achievement of increasing

difficulty. It was, however, an argument of hope, that our armies would, at all events, still receive such accumulations of strength, as, with our natural resources, and the co-operation of our allies in the Dehkan, must ultimately crown our exertions with triumphant, though dearly earned, success. But the moment was at hand when all speculative reasonings would be effectually set at rest.

Tuesday, 5th March.—About 11 o'clock this forenoon, a report was received from our advanced post, near Seediseir hill, stating, that an extensive encampment was perceived forming to the N.E. of Periaputtun; 50 tents having been already counted; and among them one of green, with several flags displayed. Henceforward, then, we had to look, for something more substantial, than idle speculation, to enliven the otherwise tedious hours of a life in camp. Further report from the advanced brigade announced, that the force assembling near Periaputtun amounted, before the evening, to at least 5,000 men; and Col. Montresor, in consequence, requested that his force might be strengthened without delay. About 5 in the afternoon, accordingly, Maj. Patterson, with his battalion, was sent forward to his support. This, at first sight, in a situation of smaller responsibility, might appear to afford one of those opportunities for making a brilliant dash, that once lost, never occur a second time. But at the moment it was not suspected that the Sultaun himself was on the spot.

6th March.—This day must ever continue to be remembered with pride and satisfaction, by all that can feel an interest in the well established renown of the Bombay army; while it furnishes a striking example of what may be apprehended from the exertions of an active and enterprising enemy.

A little before the hour of noon, Capt. Lewis appeared at head-quarters, to announce from Gen.

Hartley, that our advanced post, near Seediseir hill, had been attacked by the enemy in superior force. To this moment, although the distance could not be more than 8 miles, not even the report of a cannon-shot, much less of a musket, had been heard in our camp. But let me here be permitted to describe such of the events of this important action, as were written on the spot, from my own observation, or what I derived from the information of those on whose veracity and judgment I could place the firmest reliance.

Early in the morning, several massive columns were observed advancing along the open grounds from Periaputtun; and it was very soon evident, that an attack might be immediately expected upon our advanced post, now fortunately reinforced by one battalion; and shortly after 10 o'clock, when the attack had already commenced, by one-half of another battalion.

The attack opened, as usual, with a discharge of rockets along the front of the post; the enemy, in numbers vastly superior, and with a daringness not always expected, advancing within 20 or 30 yards of our bayonets. At this perilous crisis, through some negligence on the part of the bombadier on duty, it was discovered that in the 12-pounder field-piece, planted to scour the road, the cartridge had been rammed home, shot foremost: and it occupied some time before this alarming blunder could be rectified, by extracting the shot: the artillery-men and lascars (native artillery-men) being drawn up in front of the gun, with the enemy close upon them, while the perplexing operation was going on. The gun, however, which was under the management of my poor young friend, Lieut. George Warden, of the artillery, having been once cleared, was soon made to thunder most effectually, upon the assailants. Nevertheless, in spite of the fire of our 12's and 6's, and many a close discharge of musketry, the enemy

continued their attack with persevering obstinacy (for they were under the eye of their master, who was present under the trees in the road below) in which they were as perseveringly foiled, by the resolution and steadiness of our brave sepoys; for there were no Europeans engaged, officers excepted.

While the attack was thus carrying on in our front, a far more dangerous attempt was in operation in the rear of the post, near the pioneers' working ground; where a dense column of the enemy, said to have been 7,000 strong, having taken the post in reverse, most unexpectedly emerged into the road. The detachment of sepoys, under my old Darwar friend, Capt. Sholl, designed for the protection of that point, and of two 6-pounder field-pieces, having, probably, been taken by surprise, does not appear to have made any great resistance. Capt. Sholl was, possibly, wounded early in the business; and on the dispersion of his people, had managed to creep to the side of the rivulet hard by in the jungle, where he lay down to slake that burning thirst incidental to the wounded. Here he was soon discovered by the enemy; who, according to custom, immediately struck off his head; and, together with the epaulets, which they tore off his shoulders, conveyed it to the Sultaun, as the earliest trophy of success. In this mutilated state, at all events, was the body of my poor friend discovered a few days afterwards.

Maj.-Gen. Hartley was himself near this very spot; and accompanied only by Capt. Moncrieff, of the engineers (his aid-de-camp, Capt. Lewis, being dispatched to head-quarters, to announce the attack) succeeded, with the utmost difficulty, in scrambling up the sugar-loaf hill to the left of the post; where he happily remained undiscovered by the enemy.

The situation of Lieut. Rebenack, of the engineers, and nephew to Col. Sartorius, was extremely singular and critical. He was on duty at the pioneers' working station, in the rear of the post, superintending

the preparation of gabions and fascines, some of the former being of extraordinary size. Into one of these, set upright, when the conflict was raging round him, and he was left without defence, he contrived to introduce himself; and there remained, seated, as he said himself, from nearly 10 in the morning until past 2 in the afternoon. What his feeling must have been, during a crisis so appalling, it would not be difficult to conceive; nor the joyous revulsion that must have succeeded to this protracted agony of suspense, when he heard the triumphant roar of musketry, which announced the sure approach of deliverance.

It was most fortunate that, instead of availing themselves of this early dawn of success, to concentrate their operations against the immediate rear of the advanced post, the enemy set themselves down to refresh themselves. But another column, having turned the opposite flank of the post through the unguarded jungle, proceeded along the road to the rear, towards the position taken up by Maj. Patterson's battalion, lodging themselves in thick masses in the road, where they were, however, effectually kept in check by the two flank companies of that battalion, under Capts. Adam Howden and Marshall; with whom they maintained a sniping fire for the greater part of the day.

These perilous occurrences had been for some time going on in our front, without the slightest indication having reached us in camp; when, as I have already observed, about 12 o'clock, Capt. Lewis presented himself at head-quarters, with the report from Gen. Hartley, that the post was attacked. Without the delay of a moment, that part of the European brigade, consisting of the 77th, and the flank companies of the 75th King's regts. was ordered under arms; and in less than a quarter of an hour, led by Gen. Stuart in person, was on its march to carry relief to the advanced brigade. As I considered it

would be far less irksome to share in the danger, than to await the result for hours of painful suspense, I accompanied the column; as did the Coorga Rajah, attended by Capt. Mahoney.

About 2 in the afternoon, after enduring almost suffocating heat in the half-closed jungle, the European column reached Maj. Patterson's station; where we first ascertained that the communication with the advance was completely cut off. Indeed, the galling fire kept up, and returned, in the road to our front, was pretty sure proof of the fact. Without a moment's delay, disengaging themselves of their knapsacks, and depositing them on the ground, our gallant Europeans were led to the attack. Observing this, it was said that the Rajah, struck with admiration at this proof of devoted zeal, exclaimed— "these men ought to have been carried to battle in palanquins." In a very few minutes, three distinct and tremendous rolling vollies of musketry, pealing through the woods, announced to us in the rear, that our soldiers were in the midst of the enemy; who, as the fire was unreturned, must have been panic stricken, by the sudden appearance of this compact and formidable phalanx of Europeans: as well as astonished at the deadly effect of their fire. At all events, with scarcely the show of resistance, they endeavoured to escape, in different directions, into the jungle on either side; being tumbled head-long in masses, under the bayonets of the soldiers, into the ravines, by which, in some places, their retreat was intercepted. Capt. Weston, of the 77th, expressly stated to me that, with his company, he had precipitated one of these masses into a hollow of this description.

The European column then reached our harrassed brigade, at the advanced post, without further obstacle, having recovered the two guns; one of the tumbrels attached to which, the enemy blew up, in front of their pursuers.

As soon as I perceived that the course was pretty well cleared of the enemy, I repaired to the advanced post; having, as long as the water in my leather cantin lasted, administered all the relief I could to the wounded of the Sultaun's troops, who lay in files by the side of the road, piteously imploring for water. In one place, and looking on one side only of the palanquin, I counted 80 dead bodies; so that the fire of the European brigade must have had considerable effect; although Gen. Stuart expressed himself in terms of sore displeasure at their having fired at all, which it seems they had certainly done without orders. What appeared there, however, was nothing to the loss which the fugitives sustained along other parts of the road, and in the jungle on either side.

When I joined the Com.-in Ch's. party at the advanced post, I found it had been in deliberation, whether to attack the enemy immediately, while sickened under the impression of this sanguinary repulse, or to withdraw altogether, to our encampment at the Seedapour barrier, to await that intelligence from Gen. Harris, of which we were in daily and anxious expectation. The latter, and colder, alternative, was considered most consistent with discretion; although the more specious one of an attack on our beaten adversaries, was strenuously advocated by Gen. Hartley, and our Captain of guides and intelligence. At this moment, the Sultaun, who was in person among the trees below, in front of the post, moved quietly off towards his encampment, near Periaputtun; which he was, perhaps, rejoiced to reach without molestation, but in a state of mind little to be envied.

The instant we met, my excellent friend, Col. Walker, the Qu.-Ma. Gen. apprized me that it had been determined to withdraw the post at night; advising me to avoid the confusion of a retreat in the dark, by immediately returning to camp. As I did

not exactly desire to experience once more, the hazard of a retreat on crutches, I thought it prudent to avail myself of this friendly hint: and I had little difficulty in prevailing upon my bearers to convey me back again. I, accordingly, rejoined the encampment early in the evening; and hastened to communicate the hitherto felicitous result of the day's conflict, to that part of the European brigade, under Maj. Fyfe, which had been left in reserve.

Not long afterwards, the Adjutant of Col. Marshall's battalion came with orders to Maj. Fyfe, directing him to retire with his corps, within the Seedapour barrier; as the General was about to withdraw the posts in advance. As the Major at first declined doing this on the authority of such a message, which was merely verbal, I was referred to; and on my assurance that I had reason to think the Adjutant was fully authorized in his communication, the order was carried into execution, without further demur.

Thus, then, terminated an action which must, in every respect, be considered eminently creditable to the steadiness and bravery of the Bombay army; and not less momentous in its results; as involving the fate of the campaign, and, peradventure, of the war. Had, indeed, the Sultaun's preliminary measures been as warily conducted as they were skilfully concerted, the least of the evils which we had to apprehend, was the capture or destruction of our advanced brigade. But his ostentatious display of the green tent, and his camp near Periaputtun, put us completely on our guard; and gave us ample time for preparation. Even as the matter stood, the arrival of the European brigade, which could not have mustered more than 800 strong, one hour later, would probably have found the post in possession of the enemy:—for the ammunition of the advanced corps was very nearly expended; and would have been entirely so, were it not for what was providently

reserved by Lieut. Fitz-Gerald, the Adjutant of Col. Mignan's battalion. I cannot omit to state that this same battalion had frequent occasion to face about and charge the enemy, in their attempt to break in upon the rear.

The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained; but at a subsequent period it was estimated at 3,000 of the Sultaun's best troops, in killed and wounded, and consequent desertion. Of our loss, I do not in my Journal find the slightest notice, further than the death of poor Sholl, and the loss of an arm by Capt. Thompson, of one of the battalions at the advanced post.

From the information taken by myself for the Com.-in-Ch. from Moazem Khan, the wounded Bukhshy, one of the prisoners that fell into our hands, corroborated by that of others, the Sultaun with his army had quitted Seringaputtun only three days prior to the attack; and it will be remembered that on the night of the 2nd instant, the report of several guns was heard in that direction, at the advanced post. In six days, therefore, subsequent to our ascent of the Poodicherrum, this formidable attack was made upon us. It will also be remembered, that in his letter to the British government, he emphatically stated he was about to depart on what he choose to call "a hunting excursion." And—I may perhaps venture to add to this serio-comic allusion—he found, to his cost, in the Bombay battalions, assisted by the European brigade, "game to the utmost proof." But, it is to be borne in mind, that the post at Seediseir hill, open as it was on all sides—with the exception, perhaps, of here and there a trifling abbatis—was maintained against such tremendous odds; composed of the Sultaun's best disciplined troops, acting immediately under the eye of their despotic master, and for 95 hours; by 2 battalions of Bombay sepoys; with no other Europeans than their scanty complement of officers, and a few artillery men.

The Sultaun was attended, as it would appear, by three of the Princes, his sons; by Kummur-ud-dein, and by several others of his most distinguished Generals; with about 13 kutcheries, or brigades, of infantry, regularly disciplined; and 2 kutcheries of cavalry, and field-pieces attached to the infantry; 9 to each kutchery. This was considered an exaggeration, intended to magnify the puissance of the Bukhshy's master.

The informant further stated, that the kutcheries, three in number, with which he acted, were the Futtah kutchery (victorious legion) commanded by Adam Khaun Bukhshy; the Suddour kutchery, commanded by Gulam Ally Suddour; and the Mejeid kutchery (select) commanded by himself. That these three brigades, with which they succeeded in turning our right flank, through the unguarded jungle, amounted in the whole to 5,500 men: Bubburjung commanded in Chief. That the division which attacked the post in front, amounted to about 4,000 men, under the command of Khaun-e-jahaun, Meir Saheb, and Ruzza Saheb; the latter long since designated the Binky Navab, from the conflagration which he spread through the towns and villages, in his retreat from Capt. Little's detachment, after the defeat at Gajnour. It was now also stated, that the person who died of his wounds was Seyud (or Meir) Ghoffaur, an officer of distinguished rank, in the service of the Sultaun; and well known to have received his education as a soldier in the Madras army.

Moazzem Khaun, finally stated, that the whole of the force then in the neighbourhood, under the immediate command of the Sultaun, might consist of 20 kushouns, making 20 or 25,000 infantry, and two kushouns of cavalry, of from 7 to 800 each. That Meir Kummur-ud-dein commanded under the Sultaun: that Seyud Saheb, another chief, who had received his education in the British service, commanded the troops to the eastward of the capital:

and that the motley corps, denominated Lally's, was a few kosse on the western side of Bangalore; and that there were no Europeans whatever present with the Sultaun.

In conclusion, I must not omit to state, that Moazem Khaun expressly, and uniformly, ascribed the failure of this attempt, to the premature zeal of Ruzza Saheb, Khaun-e-jahaun, and Seyud Ghoffaur, who commanded the attack in front; and who commenced the action before the several columns were in readiness to fall upon the rear of the post.

7th March.—The whole of the troops in advance fell back, without molestation, in the course of last night; and in the forenoon of this day, took up a new position, on more elevated ground, with the left flank to the Cavery. This gave occasion to some unpleasant reflections; lest we should have set too high a value upon the vigilance of the Coorgs, when they could suffer our flanks to be thus turned without giving the slightest alarm.

8th March.—Capt. Campbell, one of the aide-de-camps, employed on a reconnoitering party in front, fell in with, and captured, 4 of the enemy's scouts; by whom we were informed, but erroneously, that both Ruzza Saheb and Seyud Ghoffaur, had been killed in the action on the 6th. These it will be remembered, were two of the Generals who command the attack in front of the advanced post. The Coorgs, on their part, reported that the position on Seediseir hill was in the possession of the enemy. The Sultaun was said, moreover, this day to have advanced, his camp 2 or 3 miles in the direction of the Coorg boundary; a movement evidently intended to keep us in a state of alarm. The park and stores were removed within the barrier, in the course of the day, preparatory to a further change of position.

9th March.—This forenoon, accordingly, we made another retrograde march, to take up a position, within the second Seedapour barrier; bringing our

right flank towards the Cavery, with the left to the barrier; thus forming a semi-circle, fronting the S.W. in order the more effectually to cover the park and stores. In this position we were the better prepared to repel any attempt, which the Sultaun might have had in contemplation from that quarter; there being some apprehension abroad, that he designed to attack our depôt of rice at Veir Rajender peint.

In the mean time, 300 of the 75th regt. were known to have landed at Cananore, on the 1st of the month; and might be expected to join in three or four days.

Report further stated, that the Sultaun had sent for reinforcements; with what view it was difficult to calculate; since it was generally considered that at this very moment he must have been in possession of intelligence that Gen. Harris had passed his eastern frontier. We now knew that the first division of the Coast army actually entered the territory of the enemy, and it was a singular coincidence, on the 5th of March; and that on the 7th, the head quarters were established at Kellumungalum, about 16 miles within the territory of Mysore. On the 9th, the whole of the army was concentrated on that ground; and on the 10th (the day which Gen. Harris had indicated to our Com.-in-Ch. as the latest to which, if possible, his arrival before the enemy's capital should be protracted) the first united movement was made within the Mysore boundary. Such a singular coincidence of facts, as the cotemporaneous appearance of the green tent at Periaputtun, and the entrance into Mysore, of the force under Gen. Harris on the same day, is, perhaps, not unworthy of remark.

Sunday, the 10th of March.—About 6 this morning the report of a single gun was heard in the direction of Periaputtun; and about 9 o'clock, another in the same direction. The Coorgs in advance also reported three heavy guns, in the direction of Eirtoura,

which were immediately answered from Periaputtun. These were doubtless, indications of some important movements; but probably the arrival, or approach, of the army from the Carnatic, at some particular point, was thus announced. We have just seen, that the first concentrated march of that army from Kellumungalum, actually took place this very day; and 5 days were amply sufficient to convey to the Sultaun, intelligence that his frontier had been passed on the 5th instant. Still the prevailing opinion was, that he yet meditated an attempt upon our communication, and the depôt of provisions in our rear; and this by the pass of Balleily, somewhere on our left flank. Of this, however, we might expect to be timely apprized by the Coorgs; whose numbers in that direction had now been considerably increased.

A report of the Coorgs further stated, that they were again in possession of the post on Seediseir hill; from whence they, in the morning, observed unusual smoke in every quarter of the Sultaun's camp. Very possibly, as we then conjectured, this was for the purpose of concealing, or disguising, some movement in contemplation; his people while in possession of our advanced post, having discovered how distinctly their motions might be perceived from thence. Whatever the cause, a reconnoitering party left our camp about noon, in order as far as possible, to ascertain the truth; and if in motion, as shrewdly suspected, endeavour to trace by the dust, the direction of the enemy's march; whether east or south.

Moazem Khaun, the wounded prisoner, now accommodated in the General's own tent, spoke at present with considerable variation, respecting the force then with the Sultaun at Perriaputtun. This, on being further pressed, he represented as consisting of from 12 to 14 kutcheries, or from 20 to 40 kushouns, amounting to between 25 and 30,000 infantry, and 2 kutcheries, of cavalry. He also stated that if the

person who died of his wounds near the post was Meir Ghoffaur; he rode a dark-coloured horse approaching to black; and that as a Seyud, he wore a green turban. With regard to himself, he now explained that he was Suddour (or chief civil functionary perhaps) at Gurrumcoonda, when captured by the British and the troops of Nizam Ally, during the former Mysore war.

The above statement varied in some points also from what I understood to have been represented by Mirza Bauker, another wounded Buckhshy; the second of the same kutchery, that had fallen into our hands. He, however, agreed in estimating the force then with the Sultaun, at about 30,000 men; of whom about 10,000 had been left during the action of the 6th for the protection of the camp, under our old acquaintance Buddur-uz-zemman Khaun; otherwise stated, by Moazem Khaun, to have been at Seringaputtun, out of employment. I shall only add that Mirza Bauker is the son of Buddur-uz-zemman.

Mirza Bauker, moreover, represented that the crimson tents, observed about his head-quarters, contained a part of the Sultaun's Zennaunah, or female establishment; that although he had been at great pains to put his capital in so a formidable state of defence, it was still in an imperfect condition; and that so far from any design of shutting himself up for the purpose of defending his capital, he seemed to think, rather, that as soon as our armies should be united before it, he would blow the place up, and retire, with his women and treasure, towards his droogs, or mountain forts; probably to Goohtty; to the natural strength of which he had been long making considerable additions. In the mean time, the Mirza acknowledged that the troops were badly paid, and that the Sultaun might have had in his service about 12,000 horse; the majority of whom were Beids, or Lootiahs; who served for plunder.

In the details given in the foregoing relation, no notice has been taken of the column under Seyud Ghoffaur, who is said (erroneously, as it afterwards proved) to have fallen, not in attacking the front of our advanced post, but with the division which turned the left flank, and united with that of Bubbur Jung in the rear. He was one of the members of a species of council of war, of which Ruzza Saheb was president; and known to be much in the confidence of the Sultaun.

Our reconnoitering party found, as had been reported, that Seediseir hill had been abandoned by the enemy. The Sultaun was, however, still encamped near Periaputtun; but considerably inclined to his right, to afford room, as we conjectured, for the reinforcements, by which, it was said, he appeared to have been actually joined.

The force under Gen. Harris, was now stated to consist of 21,000 British troops, King's and Company's; exclusive of Col. Roberts's division, of between 5 and 6,000, and a body of Nizam Ally's infantry, new modelled, after the dismission of the French, under English officers; amounting to 6,000 more.

11th March.—About noon, a sepoy came over to us, from the camp of the Sultaun, formerly a deserter from Col. Marshall's battalion, and announced that the whole of the enemy's force had moved off to the eastward about 5 this morning; after having completed the demolition of the old fort of Periaputtun, in which the Sultaun had pitched his tent, ever since the action of the 6th. The loss sustained that day, as estimated by the enemy themselves, amounted to 2,000 men, and 12 Serdaurs of distinction. This sudden movement on the part of the Sultaun, had not as yet been reported by the Coorgs, although they had sent in the head of a man, whom they had taken, scrambling up the hill.

The departure of the Sultaun, with the whole of

his army, was confirmed in the afternoon; his march being directed, according to reports, towards Kaniambady. When it is recollected that the British troops had crossed his eastern frontier, on the 5th instant, it will not be difficult to account for such an unceremonious departure.

Thus, then, terminated, what the Sultaun, in his letter to the Earl of Mornington, was pleased to designate, as "his hunting excursion;" from which, like his symbol, the tiger, disappointed in his spring, he recoiled with disgrace and loss: and which, in its consequences, must have had an important influence, in deciding the success of the campaign, and ultimately of the war, to which he had rashly provoked the British Government.

12th March.—The pioneers were this day employed in burying and burning the slain, which the enemy had neglected to do; although for so many days in possession of the post. The report now stated, that the Sultaun had caused to be hanged, several officers of rank, for misconduct in the late action.

13th March.—A further report stated, that instead of having fallen in battle, Futtah Naik, the Commander of the Periaputtun peons (a half-disciplined civil soldiery) had been put to death by the Sultaun, for defective information, as to the approaches to Seediseir hill; which had, as the Sultaun conceived, occasioned the columns to be misled, on the day of the action. So far, however, was this from being the case, the union of the columns in the rear, appears to have been effected with extraordinary precision: but that he had given erroneous intelligence as to the strength and position of the British force, in Coorg, is not improbable.

14th March.—We re-advanced this forenoon to our former ground, E. of the Seedipour barrier; the left of the European brigade, instead of the rear, as formerly, resting on the Cavery. The sick and wounded had been sent towards the Poodicherrum on

the day preceding. The body of poor Sholl was not discovered until yesterday; when it was found by the pioneers, a headless trunk, by the side of the rivulet, near which, leading to the pioneers' station, he had been unexpectedly attacked by the enemy. Not satisfied with the head, they had taken off his right arm. Nor could he have been at all recognized but for his boots; which, in the hurry of business, they probably found it too much trouble to pull off.

A native Portuguese who came in, in the course of the day, reported that he had accompanied the Sultaun's army to Kuttamalwary, where he quitted it a few days since. His information went further to state, that the attacking force, on the 6th instant, consisted of 15,000 of the best troops in the service. That the object which the Sultaun had in view, extended, not only to the extermination of the British force in the Coorga jungul, and the destruction of the stores and provisions, but finally, to pour into Malabar, a numerous body of piaudahs, or irregular infantry, in the full expectation of being joined by the turbulent and disaffected natives in that province. In this it was considered probable, that he would not have been disappointed.

15th March.—The battalion companies of the 75th regt. consisting of about 300 rank and file, marched into camp this morning, and completed our force of Europeans to about 1,500 strong.

The design of advancing a brigade to the hill was now again in agitation; and we indulged in some freedom of speculation, on the policy or impolicy of such a step, after the hazardous experiment of the other day; when, as was observed by an intelligent and gallant soldier, Maj. Thompson, of the artillery, we had been exposed like a pack of cards, to be beaten down one after another. In this forest wilderness we had, however, little room for display, and therefore, little choice of ground, for accuracy

of disposition. At the same time, it was calculated that, should the Sultaun be even still at his capital, he could not be well apprized of such a movement, until late at night; nor could he march any considerable body of troops to be ready for an attack upon the post, under 30 hours; which would protract the time to 4 or 6 in the morning of the 19th inst. when, for reasons which will presently appear, the whole of our force would probably be on the advance. The report of such a movement as immediately about to take place, turned out, however, to be premature.

Sunday, 17th March.—Three nights since, the enemy ventured to burn two of the Rajah's villages, about 2 kosse to the N.; and by way of retaliation, the Coorgs brought in the head of one of the incendiaries. Perhaps the head of any other man would have answered just as well.

18th March.—This morning the remains of Capt. James Gilkie, one of the most estimable of our officers, were consigned to the peaceful chamber of the grave.

19th March.—This morning, Col. Mignan's battalion, with two 12-pounders, proceeded once more to occupy the post near Seediseir hill, to attend to the signals concerted with Gen. Harris; who was, by appointment, to have been at the French rocks, near Seringaputtun, as to-morrow, the 20th of March. Unforeseen and unavoidable contingencies, might however, happen to occasion a delay of some days; but we could not then calculate upon the protracted period to which this delay would be carried; that is, from the 20th March to the 3rd April.

A letter was yesterday brought in, evidently designed to be intercepted by the English division. It purported to come from some of the Sultaun's Serdaurs; and was addressed to the Coorga Rajah, pretending to refer to some plan, formerly concerted with him, to cut off the British army in his country;

and apprizing him, that the inauguration presents for his formal investiture, with the Government of Coorg, were ready for his acceptance. This insiduous letter was supposed to have been written by a native Coorg, then in the service of the Sultaun. It was, however, treated with the contempt to which it was entitled.

Although it was generally understood, that the army of the Carnatic would have entered the Mysore territory, by the 6th of March (which they actually did on the 5th) the arrival of a hirkara, or a despatch messenger, this day, put the matter beyond a doubt, by stating that he had left that army in the vicinity of Anicul, on the 9th inst.; and he asserted, what was strictly true, that no action had then taken place: but that a rumour had followed him through the country, of a partial one having occurred subsequent to his leaving the camp. The letter, of which this man was the bearer, merely stated the time of his departure, and the exact local position of the army at the moment.

20th March.—Camp near the Seedapour barrier. From the advanced post it was reported, that about 8 o'clock last night, 12 guns were heard in the direction of Seringaputtun; and this morning, 6 more in the same direction. What these were intended to indicate, we could never learn. The Sultaun had left his capital to oppose the invading army some days before; and Gen. Harris did not reach Kankanhully until the 21st. But we still thought that a few hours would now shew whether the Sultaun possessed a sufficient spirit of enterprize, to try his fortune over again with the Bombay army.

23rd March.—I was alarmed this day by strong symptoms of approaching indisposition; and as sickness was become pretty general, undoubtedly arising from the sudden and opposite extremes of heat and cold—the thermometer sometimes exhibiting a difference of more than 40°, in 24 hours—it

seemed to render an early change of ground in this unwholesome jungul, extremely desirable.

In the mean time, the Coorgs, justified by the recent conflagration of their villages, having made a sweep along the frontier of the enemy, brought in a large supply of sheep and kine; including in their capture, from 700 to 1,000 men, women, and children; with whom to fill up the defective population of the country.

Sunday, 24th March.—During great part of the afternoon of this day, we had much thunder and rain; and it was apprehended that this would, more or less, be the case henceforward, at every full and change of the moon.

25th March.—About 2 in the afternoon this day, several distant explosions of thunder, tantalized us for some time, with the expectation that we should receive from the advanced post, a report of the signal guns, so anxiously looked for. That something unforeseen had occurred to impede the movements of Gen. Harris, was the general opinion: but that this should have arisen from any opposition on the part of the enemy, we never entertained the slightest apprehension. The delay was, however, at a subsequent period, sufficiently accounted for; when we understood that, owing to the enormous equipment in the several departments, the average length of a day's march did not amount to 6 miles.

26th March.—A report from Seediseir hill, stated that, this morning from day-light, until about nine o'clock, a cannonade had been heard in the direction of Seringaputtun: 18 heavy guns having been distinctly counted. But as to the concerted signals, of which we had made ourselves almost certain, we were still destined to disappointment.

27th March.—Still looking in vain for the expected signals, and all conjecture at fault.

28th March.—An unpleasant, if not an alarming report, from the rear, was brought in last night;

stating that a party, either of the Sultaun's troops, or of the Pyché Nairs, were plundering at Stony river, and threatening to attack the post at Heigul, at the head of the Poodicherrum, for the purpose of burning, the Moodikhanah, or depôt of provisions. What the extent of this mischief might prove to be, it would not require many hours to ascertain. We deeply felt that the evil pointed at our weakest side, and the circumstance was sufficient to excite some uneasy misgivings. It was indeed irksome, at the moment, to think of the serious check, which our operations might be destined to experience, should these turbulent Malabars be joined by any portion of the Sultaun's troops, through the Wynaud, which was entirely open to them. In the mean time, Col. Marshall's battalion was detached to the rear this morning, in order to secure the post at the head of the Poodicherrum.

The hirkaras, who had been in front, collecting intelligence, brought information that there were still at Periaputtun, about 400 horse, 1,000 regular infantry, and 2,000 peons, or piaudahs, variously armed. If this were true, the presence of such a force might, probably, have been occasioned by the predatory excursions of the Coorgs, which took place the other day. We were, at the same time, not without suspicion that this might have had some connexion with what was reported to be going on in our rear.

29th March.—As far as could be collected from the information of a peon, who was employed in charge of a horse, belonging to Col. Dunlop, and had managed to conceal himself in the outskirts of the jungul, where he became an eye witness of what was passing, the circumstances of the attack on the post at Stony river, appear to have been as follow: about 4 in the afternoon, while the 5 or 6 Europeans at the post, were engaged in cooking their meal, a single man, whom he thought to have been

a Moplah, with his sword drawn, and a target on his arm, came upon them by surprise, and instantly attacking the nearest at hand, struck off his head at a blow. He also observed him cut down another of the Europeans, when the remainder betook themselves to the neighbouring jungul; as did also the party of sepoys, who were in charge of a quantity of rice, on the spot. He added, that he then further observed three other Moplahs, armed in the same manner, but not more; although there might have been many in the wood, behind, who did not shew themselves.

What appeared extraordinary was, that they did not interfere in the slightest degree, with the cattle and provisions, thus left at their mercy; but contented themselves with 5 or 6 muskets, which they carried off to their accomplices.

In the night they were attacked and dislodged by about 80 of the Rajah's Coorgs; but taking post on the abrupt rising ground which projects into the river, and over which lay the road, to Viatour, they from thence returned the fire of the Coorgs; and these being at last wearied out, drew off with the loss of the Ammildaur, or collector, of Stony river, who was killed on the occasion. The peon, however, watching his opportunity, succeeded in conveying his master's horse safe to the head of the gauht.

As the 2 flank companies of Col. Marshall's battalion had been sent down the Poodicherrum in the course of the night, a good account might be soon expected on the subject of this audacious attempt; but we were still disposed to suspect, from the appearance of the alledged force at Periaputtun, that it was the result of some concerted plan; and however unjustly, that the unfortunate Pyché Rajah, must have been implicated in the nefarious proceeding.

30th March.—The alarm of Thursday, was now ascertained to have been occasioned by a gang of

Moplahs, with no other object, it is said, than the booty to be acquired, by plundering the people engaged in passing to and from Cananore. At all events, they left the public store of grain, and other supplies for the army, entirely untouched. The assassins disappeared, however, immediately on the approach of the two companies sent by Col. Marshall to dislodge them; and thus appears to have terminated, what at first occasioned some uneasy apprehensions. But what rendered the act of the villains the more execrable, they were now said to belong to those Moplahs who had been employed in selling oil, and other articles of consumption in our camp.

It was now discovered that a Parsee, reported to have been murdered at Stony river, had escaped with life, but badly wounded, to Viatour; with the loss of 500 rupees, accumulated by his speculations in our camp; and that four of the Europeans had succeeded in making their escape to the same place. An unfortunate conductor of stores was, however, still unaccounted for; but a chokey, or guard, of Cherical Nairs, had been stationed to prevent the recurrence of such outrages for the future.

Sunday, 31st March.—We were now almost wearied out with conjecturing what possible causes could have occurred to protract the approach of the Coast army, to so very late a period as the present: which left us little more than a month to the commencement of the rainy season; when the rivers might reasonably be expected to fill, from bank to bank.

It was, however, some consolation that during a crisis of such anxious suspense, the hirkaras brought us assurance of the pacific conduct of the too much suspected Rajah of Cotiote; whom they stated to have refused to the troops of the Sultaun, a passage through his country, in order to strike at our communication with Cananore.

1st April.—It should have been noted, that on Saturday, a post was established at Veir Rajender peint, for 300 men, partly convalescents, under Capt. Adam Howden, a steady and gallant soldier; in order to protect the depôt of provisions, and the hospital of the army.

The 12th day had now arrived beyond the period said to have been indicated by Gen. Harris, as the latest at which he expected to appear in the neighbourhood of Seringaputtun; and the so often repeated greeting of "no signals yet" was becoming rather tiresome. The hope to which we gave expression was, that we might not suffer, after all, the ordinary result of calculating too highly upon our own prowess and skill, and the comparative inferiority of our adversaries. We now learned that an action at Malvilly, took place on the 27th of March; that is only 5 days since.

Some posts that have been missing, and made us rather jealous of our communication with Malabar, came in, in the course of the day, and dispelled our apprehensions.

2nd April.—The troops of the Sultaun, of whatever number they consisted, were reported this day to have withdrawn from Periaputtun; which pretty clearly indicated the approach of Gen. Harris, and the necessity by which the Sultaun was now compelled to confine his efforts to the neighbourhood of his capital.

3rd April.—In the course of yesterday one of our hirkaras, came in and declared, if any credit were due to his assertion, that he had left the army of the Sultaun at Arakery; and that an action had taken place at Madour. This must certainly have referred to that which is known to have occurred at Malvilly. It did not, however, even from this man's report, appear to have been of that decisive character, which from a multiplication of rumours, we had been taught to expect. Supposing this to have been

a faithful report, we naturally concluded that either this, or the day following, our ears would be gratified by the long looked for signal to advance. Otherwise we could not but begin to contemplate before us, the cheering prospect of another expensive campaign. In the meantime, to add to our perplexities, our Mahratta allies, in the Dehkan, were putting in practice their usual temporizing system; the Sultaun's vakeils being still at Poona, on the 18th of March; that is to say, twelve days subsequent to the commencement of hostilities.

This morning, Maj. Disney's battalion was advanced to the rivulet, about 3 miles on the road to Seediseir hill; for no other purpose, apparently, than a change of ground. In the course of the day, moreover, the enemy were perceived to have set fire to the town of Periaputtun, or Periapatam, as we usually called it, and the villages in the neighbourhood. This was a further convincing proof that Gen. Harris was at last pressing hard upon the capital of Mysore. In the contemplation of an immediate movement in advance, I wrote to my friend Capt. Moor, in reply to his several letters.

4th April.—According to the hirkara's account, the action of which he spoke, took place on the 27th March, about 2 kosse from Malvilly; and this was given with many details of circumstance; still, some how or other, we could not prevail upon ourselves to give it that credit, which from subsequent information, it certainly deserved. For although he confessed that he never made his way good to the army under Gen. Harris, he could fix the loss on our side at about 400; while he limited that of the enemy to 1,500, or 2,000, slain. He asserted, however, that two kutcheries of infantry (the Kerim and Futtah Askery) had all been either killed or taken prisoners. The event proved that the man's intelligence, however acquired, was given with sufficient fidelity; for the action at Malvilly

took place on the very day and spot that he described; and the kutcheries were precisely those destroyed to a man, as it was said, by a charge of cavalry, under Maj.-Gen. Floyd.

In order, in some degree, to keep up the confidence of his troops, the Sultaun had recently given out that a reinforcement of 2,000 French infantry had arrived at Astana, on their way from Mangalore; and he carried the deception so far, as to dispatch a body of 2,000 men to escort them to the capital. But whatever may have been his plans, or expectations, it was too evident that circumstances were sufficiently favorable to him, in retarding our operations to a period of the season so seriously advanced.

The hirkara, to whose information we have referred, reported, among other matters, that Meir Ghoffaur, was still living; which confirmed the statement formerly given by a boy who attended him, and became our prisoner, in the action of the 6th March.

5th April.—During the forenoon and the preceding night, the report of several guns was heard to the E.ward; and that of a single gun about 10 in the morning, attracted our attention so distinctly, that it was taken for an explosion of some magnitude. All was by this time, however, clearly indicative that the curtain was about to be drawn up; and that some unwelcome visitors were approaching the head-quarters of the enemy. Nevertheless, we were beginning to despair of any thing decisive during the present campaign. What unforeseen obstacle might have occurred to retard the march of Gen. Harris, to a period so inauspiciously late, a very few hours must now explain. Yet the consideration of the numerous train of ordnance and heavy stores, necessary to the operations of an arduous siege, might have been sufficient to account for the fact, that 30 days were required to accomplish what was usually completed in a march of 6 or 8.

At this period the destructive mortality, which raged among our public cattle, was not less melancholy than disgusting to the sense, from the numerous carcases strewn about the jungul.

6th April.—From the heavy cannonade which was distinctly heard, even in our camp, from an early hour this morning, and continued, without much intermission, until about noon (this as we understood at a subsequent period, was occasioned by the establishment of our advanced posts, this very day, within 1,800 yards of the works of Seringaputtun) we no longer entertained a doubt that Gen. Harris was occupied in taking up his ground before the capital of Mysore. From 8 to 10 o'clock, the discharge of cannon was, on an average, not less than 5 per minute; and evidently from a fixed point: a circumstance which seemed to render it conclusive, that the firing, proceeded from the works, either at Seringaputtun, or within its vicinity. But about half-past 2 in the afternoon every speculation was set at rest, by a letter from Gen. Harris, dated the 4th instant, 4 miles to the W.-ward of that capital; apprising our Com-in-Ch. that Maj.-Gen. Floyd would march on this day, with a strong division of cavalry and infantry, to join our army. In the course of the afternoon, another hirkara also came in, with a letter, from the General, but dated the 2nd inst. S. of the Cavery, and about 9 miles to the E.-ward of Arakery.

Sunday, 7th April.—At 6 this morning, the whole of our force, with the exception of one battalion left to protect the stores in the rear, moved forwards; and in the course of the forenoon, encamped in separate divisions along the road, immediately in the rear of the post at Seediseir hill. The cannonade was heard to recommence in the morning, but with abated violence; the occasion still a problem, which we expected this night, or the morning, would probably solve. An encampment was observed from

the hill on the left, about 2 in the afternoon, near Kuttamalwary; which we supposed to be that of Sheir Khaun, one of the Sultaun's superior officers.

Monday, 8th April, 1799.—A little before noon, to our inexpressible satisfaction, the force under Gen. Floyd was announced to be in sight. And about 3 hours afterwards, our advanced picquets, followed by the right and European brigades, proceeded down the pass; and crossing the barrier of the enemy, took up their ground about 4 o'clock, in front of Seedaculla tank, about a mile E.S.E. of Seediseir hill. As we were striding down the pass, two of the Moplahs, who had been engaged in the outrage at Stony river, and who had been taken by the parties in the rear, were, by a summary process, strung up to the branches of a tree by the road side. These wretches betrayed an extraordinary degree of malignity, at such a moment, by spitting in each others' faces.

I had almost forgotten to state, that a very few days since, on his arrival from Surat, Capt. Mears, whose destiny had fatally led him to volunteer his services with the army, had brought with him 2 Kandahary punch horses; with one of which he had very kindly accommodated me: and thus, instead of being confined to the loneliness of a palanquin, I was enabled to take my place on horse-back, in the line of march; to my no small comfort and convenience.

Precisely at 4 o'clock, Gen. Floyd's signals arrested our attention—namely, 2 guns preparatory; and a little afterwards, 4 guns, at intervals of a minute each. In about half an hour afterwards, the same signals were repeated; and just as we were answering from our line, Majors Allen and Turing, at the head of a troop of European dragoons, came dashing into head-quarters, and soon furnished us with many an interesting piece of information, with

which before we were very imperfectly, if at all, acquainted. The complexion of these gentlemen, one of them Qu.-Ma. Gen. and the other Dep. Adj.-Gen. to the army under Gen. Harris, bore a striking contrast with ours; blanched as we were by so long an abode in the shady recesses of the jungul; while our visitors, scorched to a copper colour, by many a march exposed to a burning sun, appeared to us as too devotedly attached to the genius of aqua vitæ.

Late this night, by appointment, Capt. Mears and myself, paid a confidential visit to the Coorga Rajah in his tents, some distance apart from the left of our camp. At this interview, he earnestly pressed us for our opinion, whether, under present circumstances, he should accompany the army, which was to march in the morning, or remain to protect his own territory. We did not hesitate, with perfect sincerity, as well for his own interests, as the security of our rear in the case of retreat, to recommend that he should remain where he was. To this recommendation, after some demur, he finally acceded. We then parted, with mutual assurances of the warmest friendship; and I never saw him afterwards. I received several letters subsequently from him. In the last--of which a translation is here given—he desires me to congratulate him on having received from the Governor-general of India, an accession of territory, in the direction of Mangalore, that yielded a revenue of 24,000 pagodas; equivalent to about 17,000 pounds sterling, per annum.

From His Highness the Koorga Rajah.

SIR,—My very good friend, distinguished in station, ever generous to the devoted, David Price Saheb Bahauder, on whom be the blessing of the Most High.—Of that ardent desire with which I am impressed to enjoy with you one of these interviews, so abounding with good will, and surpassing the limits of all expression in writing, this may serve to apprize your enlightened mind, fraught with the fascinating principle of sincere affection. Long, indeed, it is, since any letter illustrative of kindness, and informing me of the welfare

of my friend, has reached me. Assuredly, this has been the cause to me, of much trouble and anxiety; and it becomes, therefore, necessary, that you should be unremitting in conveying to me, by every opportunity, such letters, assuring me of your welfare, as may allay those apprehensions to which I must otherwise be exposed. At this crisis, to me fraught with exultation, a letter full of kindness, from the excellent Navab (vicegerent) the Lord exalted in title (the Marquis Wellesley, then Governor-general) apprising me, through the agency of my friend, Capt. Mahoney, of an accession of territory bestowed upon me, yielding the revenue of 24,000 pagodas, in the direction of Corial (Mangalore.) This has contributed equally to promote the honor, and to cherish the attachment, of a truly devoted friend. I have availed myself of the opportunity to apprize you, who have so uniformly befriended me, of this access of good fortune, and I trust it will be gratifying to your heart. In the mean time, I have sent to your care the sketch of a seal, with the name of your kindly devoted, in the hope that you will convey it to your country, for the purpose of being engraved by some one of those English artists, so famed for unrivalled skill and execution in this branch of sculpture. When returned, I need not add, that it will be a further proof of your unabated kindness, in gratifying my wishes—inasmuch as it will be employed in extending the authority of my name, and of shedding lustre on the power of your friend; while it must continue a lasting memorial of our friendship, and of the many proofs of kindness, of one who has already so greatly obliged me.* May the Almighty long preserve my generous friend, and vouchsafe to give to him, increase of life, and rank, and glory.—(Signed in English characters by his own hand.)

VEER RAJENDER WADEER.

* A fac-simile of the seal is annexed.

By some strange misconception or other, the vital services of this remarkable man, were for a moment forgotten, by those who came into authority, in

Mysore, on the subversion of the Sultaun's power; and he was unexpectedly, and I believe peremptorily, required to restore certain pots and pans, alledged to have been seized by his people, in the adjoining districts of the enemy, on the commencement of hostilities; and, peradventure, this assignment of territory may have been intended as some reparation for the insult. Of the extraordinary circumstances that marked the close of my poor friend, the Rajah's life, I am imperfectly informed; but as far as I can learn, he became latterly deranged in mind; and subject to such paroxysms as terminated in the most ferocious acts of violence, upon all around him. To the manner of his death, I am still a stranger; and the recent misconduct of his unfortunate successor, with its punishment, requires no comment from me.

9th April.—About noon our line was ordered under arms, and the tents struck, in consequence of information from Gen. Floyd's division, that a strong column of the enemy appeared in his front. After remaining under arms, and making sundry changes in our disposition, in order to meet the contingencies of a battle, until 5 o'clock, 2 troopers rode in and informed us, that the hostile column had retired, leaving 2 prisoners in the hands of our people. These men reported, that the body of the enemy, which occasioned this alarm, consisted of from 1,500 to 2,000 horse; and that they were commanded by one of Tippoo's sons. But from information more closely sifted, this body of troops consisted of about 4,000 horse, with some infantry; who had, probably, ventured so near, to ascertain the strength of the General's division. After receiving a few rounds from the 6-pounders, they considered it advisable to withdraw; but if Gen. Floyd had not had other points at issue, this bold demonstration might have cost them very dear. They were not, as had been reported, commanded by any of the Mysore princes.

10th April.—At 6 in the morning, the whole of the

mbay division commenced its march in a single umn, with the baggage on their right flank; and aching Periaputtun early in the forenoon, encamped the S.E. of the fort; Gen. Floyd's division being bout a mile in our front. Seediseir hill bore W. by N. listant 7 or 8 miles. The enemy, to the number of 2,000, in the course of the day, again presented themselves to Gen. Floyd.

11th April.—Both divisions of the army were in full march at 6 in the morning, and we had advanced but a very short distance when the alarm was given, that the enemy's horse were on our left flank; which rendered it immediately necessary that our column of baggage should pass to the right. The main body of the Bombay division had scarcely crossed the nullah, or rivulet, about a mile to the E.-ward of Periaputtun, when the brow of the hilly range, on our right, appeared covered for miles by the enemy's cavalry; while the head of Gen. Floyd's division was briskly assailed by the rocket boys. We managed, however, to re-pass the baggage to their original flank, in good time; Col. Hart superintending the movement. Just as I was crossing this same nullah, my rogue of a Kandahary, very composedly laid himself down in the deepest part, with, however, no other injury to myself, than a refreshing immersion of my extremities, from which I suffered no manner of inconvenience. It put me, however, on my guard against the amphibious propensities of my good tempered little charger.

All this, in the mean time, brought us to a halt; the designs of the enemy being now evidently against our rear and baggage. We were amused in watching these designs, until about 10 o'clock; when the commissariate and baggage being well up, and across the nullah, the line again moved forwards. The enemy still hovered upon our rear; but were kept a respectable distance, by an occasional shot from our 6-pounders; and as they were attempting

cross the nullah, receiving an unexpected volley from a company of Europeans of the rear guard, which had halted unseen on the hither bank, they finally drew off with some precipitation.

We now proceeded on our march, until we reached the obscure village of Campessour, 4 or 5 miles to the E.-ward of Periaputtun. Here, after some difficulty in determining on our allignment, we encamped in something of an en potence; Gen. Floyd's division forming the side which extended from E. to S.W. and the Bombay army that from E. to N.W.; thus giving complete cover to the stores and baggage. The enemy continued, however, to menace the rear, until they perceived that we were encamped for the day.

12th April.—The army marched at 6 in the morning, and proceeded without interruption from the enemy, through a pleasing district of country, where the sandal tree was not an unfrequent object. About 10 in the forenoon, our main body passed a natural ridge, or embankment, running across the valley from N. to S. with a large tank to the W.-ward, and about 5½ miles from the ground we had left in the morning, when the enemy made their appearance in force, in our rear, and on our right flank: the embankment extending, or jutting out, from a wooded hill, on our right. This produced a picqueering with our rear guard and flanking parties, under Maj. Spry, of the 77th, until noon. Several rounds from our field-pieces, were discharged at the enemy with uncertain effect; and a regt. of native cavalry under Maj. Murray, having counter-marched from the front, to our support, they seemed rather shy of that description of force, although they were accompanied by a considerable body of infantry; but the curricle guns, attached to the cavalry, seemed most to astonish them. They were, at all events, finally driven off, by our rear guard and flankers, which were gradually reinforced, to an aggregate of 18 companies. Maj. Spry, who

commanded, at the head of some companies of Europeans, charged the enemy, in brilliant style, over the wooded hill, just mentioned as being on the right of our rear, as we now stood.

The army then continued its march for about a mile further, to Kuttamalwary; where, at 1 in the afternoon, we encamped; having been impeded for about an hour by the attempts of the enemy. Gen. Floyd's division occupied a position in our front, his line extending N.N.W. and S.S.E.; that of the Bombay division being nearly N.E. and S.W. Our only causalties this day, although so nearly in contact with the enemy, were, one sepoy killed, and 2 or 3 wounded.

13th April.—The gurry, or small fort, of Kuttamalwary, nearly as respectable in appearance as Periaputtun, is constructed on the same plan, but of inferior materials. The army marched as usual at 6 in the morning; and, fortunately, passed the nullah to the E.-ward of Kuttamalwary, before the enemy made their appearance. But at 9 o'clock, they began to shew themselves; at first in small parties, but at last in considerable force, over the brow of the hills, on our left flank, and towards the rear. From what I could immediately observe, they might have been, in number, from 2 to 3,000. Their object seemed, as usual, our rear and the baggage; but their attempts, certainly very feeble, were equally abortive with those of the preceding day. They, however, accompanied us, as formerly, to our ground at Bilhoolly, W.-ward of Sungumpour river; which, after 2 or 3 halts, we reached about 2 in the afternoon.

The advanced guard of Gen. Floyd's division, was on the opposite side of the river; which is one of the contributary streams running into the Cavery, some short distance on our left. We again encamped en potence; the open part towards the river; on the banks of which we found, what offered the most grateful, if not the most luxurious refreshment, a

plantation of sugar cane. There was a large village on the other side, in a N.E. direction, and our camp followers, so powerful are the attractions of plunder, notwithstanding the proximity of the enemy, exposed themselves to be cut off a great way in front.

The march, this day, with considerable digressions, was something to the N.-ward of E.—distance about 11 miles.

Sunday, 14th April.—The army marched at sunrise; but experienced considerable difficulty in crossing the Sungumpour river. The difficulty did not, however, arise from the nature of the ford, but from a canal and hedge-row, running almost parrallel with the bed of the river, and leading from a weir thrown across; and all might have been obviated by an hour's work of our pioneers.

Our surprise was, however, most agreeable, that while thus awkwardly embarrassed, the enemy should have left us entirely unmolested. Neither did they make the slightest demonstration, until between 9 and 10 o'clock, when the army, with its cumbrous impediments, was all well over. They then made their appearance at the E. end of the village, on our right, and baggage, flank; but were kept at a respectable distance, by the advance of our dragoons.

Between 11 and 12 o'clock, they came, in considerable force, on the left flank of our leading division; and a sort of charge was made, by 30 or 40 of the boldest of them, towards the European brigade; but a few shot from our 12 and 6-pounders very soon sent them about. They then continued to hang upon our left and rear; losing several men by the fire of our flanking parties. It was about the same hour of the day, when we observed a corps of infantry, about 300 strong, marching in files with perfect composure, across a sort of ploughed ground, parrallel with our line of march; without however offering, or receiving from us, the slightest molestation. A few rockets were launched against us during the day, but without effect.

Soon after, a party of horse being discovered clinging to a small hill, about a stone's throw to our left, and one of our 6-pounders opening against them, my little kandahary became restive at the firing of the piece; and I was very nearly unhorsed, to the evident annoyance of Gen. Stuart, who was close by: and I conceived it best to push on towards the head of the line. But that part of the column having continued its march, without attending to the halt near the centre, a break of about 100 yards occurred in the line; through which an enterprizing enemy might certainly have charged with mischievous effect. Here I was a little puzzled; but I was kindly relieved from the dilemma, by a young officer on the spot; who with his company escorted me safe across the opening, until I rejoined the divisions of the column in front.

Notwithstanding these various demonstrations, which became probably the more frequent and pertinacious as we approached the capital, in order that the Sultaun might be himself an ear-witness of the activity and zeal of his people, it did not appear that we suffered any material loss of baggage, either public or private; although at a tope, or grove, of trees, about 2 miles before we came to our ground, we left 300 bullock loads of grain, without protection. We did not reach our ground before sun-set; it having occupied the whole of the period from sun-rise, to accomplish a march of 16 miles, during which I dismounted only once.

The circumstance may not, perhaps, be very material to the subject of my narrative, but as it occasioned some little inconvenience at the moment, I may be permitted just to mention it in this place.— I had for many years habituated myself to the practice, on a march, of slaking my thirst from a coup of bottles of rice gruel, seasoned with pepper a salt; which were carried by my chair-bearer; gether with a leathern cantin of water; instead

the deleterious beverage of wine, or brandy and water. The gruel had, however, been exhausted long since in the course of the day; and my only resource rested in my chaugul, or leather cantin; of the contents of which I had rigorously restrained from tasting to the last extremity. I had dismounted, and seated myself, nearly exhausted, by the road-side, awaiting the arrival of my tents and baggage; when an officer came up, and most piteously intreated that I would allow him just to moisten his mouth with a drop of water from my cantin: I had not the heart to refuse him. He put the pipe of the chaugul to his mouth; and, without the smallest compunction or apology, drained it to the last drop; leaving me, for all that he knew, to languish under all the agonies of thirst; and seeming to consider it an excellent joke. I do not think that I ever met him afterwards, or I should probably have taxed him with his cruelty. I could not, however, be angry with him, because I well knew how difficult it was to moderate your draught in a paroxysm of raging thirst: if such were, indeed, his actual condition.

The ground which we occupied was covered from the works of Seringaputtun, from which we were distant about 2 miles, by an elevated ridge, running nearly N. and S. from the ford of the Cavery.

15th April.—This was a necessary halting day, in order to re-arrange our equipments, which had become a little discomposed during the march from Periaputtun. Our Commissary-general was sent back with a flea in his ear, to bring up the 300 bullock loads of grain, left yesterday at the tope in our rear; and, what must have been rather an agreeable surprise, he found the whole safe, and untouched.

Tuesday, 16th April.—The Bombay division of the army proceeded this forenoon to the left, in order to cross the Cavery, to the N-.ern side. The ford, which was perfectly open to the N.W. angle of the

enemy's works, proved the most rocky and difficult in the passage that can well be conceived; and nothing could more effectually have tried the excellence of our gun carriages. Several cannon-shot passed through and over our column, fortunately without injury: the distance being rather too great for prudent practice. No other attempt was made to disturb or interrupt our movements; even while the 75th was embarrassed in the rocky inequalities of the ford, and the 77th and Bombay regts. were pushing forward, without support, to gain possession of the black looking insulated hill to the N.-ward; so well situated to cover the left of our intended encampment.

Having at last effected a passage, with no other obstacle than what was experienced in the extraordinary ruggedness of the ford, the Bombay division took up its final position for the siege; its left flank resting upon the embankment of the Lokany nullah (rivulet:)—the site of the Eidgah, or Medows' redoubt, being something in advance of the left division. The extreme right extended to within 800 or 1,000, yards of the ford of the Cavery. The head-quarters flag was set up in front of the left; nearly N.W. by W. of the square cavalier tower, in the N.W. angle of the fort, and within long cannon-shot. The pagoda on Carigat hill, bore E. by S. and the ford of Mysore, nearly S. of head quarters: distant 8 or 9 miles.

While this movement was in progress to the N.-ward, Maj.-Gen. Floyd with most of the cavalry, British and Nizamite, and part of the Bengal brigade, marched in the direction of Mysore; which attracting, or perhaps, distracting, the attention of the enemy, may very probably have contributed to our passage of the ford without disturbance.

17th April.—About 3 this afternoon, the 75th regt. with Col. Marshall's batt. and the wings of 2 other batts. supported by the 74th regt. and a Madras

corps—the whole led by Col.* George Vaughan Hart—advanced to sieze an embankment of earth, N. of the fort, in front of our advanced picquet, and within 800 yards of the works. The object was obtained without either loss or resistance; although the post was occupied by some thousands of the enemy, with a multitude of working people, employed in levelling the embankment. The movement was executed with as much composure as if on the common parade of exercise.

This spot, as previously examined by Capt. Mackenzie, of the Madras engineers, had been fixed upon for the construction of an enfilading battery of six 18-pounders; and it proved, during the siege, admirably calculated for its object.

About an hour afterwards, when the attention of the enemy had been effectually drawn to the N.-ward, a Madras corps was observed driving the Sultaun's troops before them across the ravines, and through a ruined village S. of the Cavery. The enemy's infantry throwing themselves, however, into a line of intrenchments along the S. bank of the river, succeeded in checking the further progress of our sepoys; and obliged them, together with a detachment of Europeans, by whom they were supported, to take ground to the rear. At the same time an incessant cannonade, most tremendous to the ear, was kept up from the works on that side, while five 12-pounders from our grand camp, advanced below the brow of the hill to the W.-ward, responded at intervals, to protect the movements of this corps.

On our side a quantity of gabions and fascines were conveyed to the advanced post, of which we had so opportunely obtained possession, in readiness for the exertions of the night; attended by a numerous corps of Madras pioneers, under Capt. Dowse,

* Afterwards Lieut.-Gen. and M.P. for Londonderry.—Ed.

with some engineer officers of the same establishment: and this may be said to have commenced the operations of this momentous siege.

18th April.—An incessant fire of musketry and cannon, at intervals, was kept up on our advanced post, during the night. Nevertheless, through the skill and activity of the pioneers, well trained to their duty, a breast-work of 60 paces in extent, was completed by day-break this morning. We had, however, to lament the loss of an experienced and gallant officer, in Capt. Toriano, of the Bombay artillery, who was killed in the work, by a cannon-shot, soon after day-light; several of the men were also killed and wounded by the same unlucky shot.

In the course of the day, the battering guns intended for this work, were brought across the ford, being destined to open on the ensuing morning; provided, the enemy would abstain from sallying out and spiking them during the night. The Madras troops continued a hot picqueering with the enemy, on the other side of the river, for the greater part of the day, with dubious success, although they maintained their ground to the last.

Another unfortunate casualty occurred at our advanced post, in the death of Lieut. Mac Redie, also a very deserving young officer, of the Bombay artillery. He was killed by a discharge of grape-shot. Both these officers were committed to the peaceful earth the same day; much and generally regretted. Lieut. Mac Redie was not on duty at the time; but fell a victim to juvenile curiosity; having visited the battery, contrary to the express injunction of Col. Bailie, his commanding officer.

19th April.—A little before day-light, a shower of rockets, and the approach of a body of horse, occasioned a rather hot alarm in the rear of our encampment; which occupied the brow of a rising ground on one side of an open valley; the opposite,

or W.-ern side of which is bounded by a hill of difficult ascent.

The rockets were launched from the embankment of the Lokany nullah, immediately on our left flank; and about 200 yards from head-quarters.

When day broke, the enemy were discovered encircling our rear in different bodies; accompanied by some infantry; but not in any great number. At all events they were drawn off in a very short time, on the advance of our picquets, with a brace of 6-pounders. They rallied on the side of the hill in our rear, to the number of 3 or 4,000 horse and foot, but soon afterwards disappeared altogether.

Our 6-gun battery had opened at day-light; as it would appear, without effecting the object for which it was more immediately intended—the dismantling of the out-work, near the powder-mill, W.-ward of the fort; which, it was now seen, must, after all, be carried by the bayonet. The discharge of musketry between the Madras troops and the enemy had greatly abated this morning, in comparison to what was observed the day preceding.

To-day, being Friday, the Sultaun's flags were displayed on the cavalier tower in the N.W. angle, and that on the S.-ern face of the fort; and it was expected that in the fervor of devotion, some attempt would be made to put us on the alert, before it came to a close.

It was now pretty clearly ascertained that the Sultaun was present in his capital; but it was understood that he had removed his family and treasure to Chittuldroog. Our battery fired with considerable effect towards the decline of the day.

20th April.—The 3 howitzers, which had accompanied the Bombay division, were conveyed to the battery in the course of last night, with the design of opening this morning; but from some unforeseen defect of equipment, their operation was for the present postponed.

A suspicious person, who called himself a Seyud,* and possessing, as he stated, a jaguir in the Carnatic, under the Navab, was seized this morning as he was endeavouring to make his way into the fort; and from him we obtained, with some difficulty, the following information:—

The Sultaun, with his treasure, and the whole of the family, excepting Futtah Hyder, was in Seringaputtun; that he generally past his time in a raouty, or half-tent, behind the rampart which envelopes the N.W.-ern flag-staff cavalier, just where the breach was soon afterwards effected—that the whole of his infantry, to the number of about 30,000 men, were in and about the place; which was also swarming with inhabitants: that Meir Kummuruddein, commanded the body of troops which menaced our rear yesterday morning; that he had with him 10,000 horse, besides infantry; and that he was, moreover, the commander of the force which accompanied us on our march from Periaputtun. He stated further, that Futtah Hyder had been detached a few days since, with 3,000 cavalry, to intercept a convoy of provisions, which it was supposed we expected from Madras.

He confirmed, what we had long suspected, that Meir Ghoffaur, was still living: and that at this moment, with 2 or 3,000 men, he actually occupied the water-work battery, or redoubt, on the S. side the Cavery, opposite to what was called Col. Shaw's post; that a day or two since, in opposing the advance of the Madras sepoys, he had been slightly wounded in the arm; that the suburb of Sheheregunjaum, and that part of the island, contrary to what we had been taught to believe, was entirely unfortified; but crowded with armed men; that Seyud Saheb commanded the garrison, and directed

* A descendant from Mahomed: additionally respected as such. A Seyud generally wears a green turban.—ED.

the ordnance department:—and that Meir Sadoc as chief engineer, superintended the fortifications; which this Seyud thought fit to describe as in a very imperfect, or inefficient, state; and constructed principally of sun-dried clay; that the place was, however, surrounded by an inner and outer ditch; 14 feet wide, and 10 feet deep; independently of the bed of the river, which was then very low.

He stated finally, that there were in the place, and then attached to the artillery, about 100 Europeans; 40 under a nominal Mons. Lally, and 60 under another Frenchman, who came by way of Corial, or Mangalore, about a twelve-month since. This was probably M. Chapuis, who subsequently fell into our hands. He added, that there were 2 other officers with this corps, on a salary of 1,000 rupees; but whether monthly or yearly, is not explained.

Among other matters stated by this man, he affirmed that the Sultaun had for some time entertained expectations of being joined by Prusram Bhow, with a considerable force of Mahrattas; but that one of his vakeils, had returned from Poona, about 8 or 10 days since.

With regard to the several actions, in which the Sultaun's troops had been engaged, he stated that 1,000 men had been killed in the conflict near Seediseir hill, and about 4 or 500, in that near Gulshenabad (or Malvilly) so called in the Sultaun's newly-adopted nomenclature; and that great numbers had recently fallen in opposing the approach of our troops towards the mill-work on the S. side of the Cavery.

In addition to this, he alleged that the Sultaun was perfectly tranquil as to the result of our operations; confident that we should not be able to reduce the place under a period of 2 months; previous to which, he considered it pretty certain that we should be constrained to withdraw, by the rising of the Cavery, which he calculated must occur prior to the

expiration of that period. He also pointed out one of the magazines, as situated in the rear of the lower, or N.W.-ern, flag-staff cavalier; and another in the N.E. angle of the fort: each under bomb-proof brick masonry. All the gates he represented as being walled up within, excepting the E. gate, leading to Gunjiaum; within, and opposite, which, stands the Jumma Mesjeid, or principal mosque, of which the minarets are so conspicuous and ornamental.

This Seyud stated further, that Baha-ud-dein, the kotewal (or prefect of police) had earnestly advised his master, to send away all the women and non-combatants, for security, to Goohty, and other hill forts to the N.-ward; for which honest and salutary admonition, the return he received was a reproach of pusillanimity. He finally assured us, that the place was stored with forage in the greatest abundance; and that the cavalry acting without, drew all their supplies from thence.

All those circumstances were, at the moment, so deeply interesting, that we could not avoid recording them in detail; more particularly as in the issue the facts were, for the greater part, found substantially true.

Just after sun-set this evening, the mill-work post so often referred to, on the S .side of the river, was after a feeble resistance, carried by assault; by a corps of Europeans and Bengal sepoys. Our howitzers, to favor the attack, threw several shells, with good effect, into the rear of the work. The object of this operation was to clear the ground for our breaching batteries.

In the course of the day, a letter was sent from the fort to Gen. Harris, the subject of which did not then transpire. It probably had no other design than to open a correspondence with a view to protract our operations; and therefore at such a crisis scarcely deserved a moment's attention.

Sunday 21st April.—A very heavy fire of

cannon and musketry was this day brought upon our advanced post, in consequence of an attempt on our part to take possession of some ruins to the left, from whence the troops on duty at the post were inconveniently annoyed on that flank. This continued for the whole of the succeeding night. About 8 in the evening, a tremendous cannonade was also kept up for about half an hour, from the W-.ern flag-staff cavalier, and the works adjoining, on our approaches, now carrying on, on the S.W.-ern side. It was on this afternoon that the service was deprived of a very meritorious and gallant officer, in Capt. John Charles Mears, of our establishment, who received a cannon-shot in the body, and instantly expired. I have formerly noticed that, led by his destiny, and zeal for the service, he gave up a quiet staff appointment at Surat, and volunteered to join the army. His conduct in the battery had attracted the applause of the officers of H. M. 74th, in particular; and I had the melancholy task of reading the funeral service over his grave, not far N. of the ford of the Cavery; near the same spot which already contained the remains of Toriano and Mac Redie.

22nd April.—Between 2 and 3 this morning, we were again alarmed, by a discharge of rockets and small arms in the rear of our left wing; which we, however, soon discovered as merely designed to draw off our attention from another point; for this was followed, almost immediately, by a general and desperate attack upon our advanced post, and the enfilading battery; which continued with little intermission until day-light; when it slackened. It was, however, renewed at 6 in the morning; when the attempt was completely foiled, with considerable loss to the assailants.

According to the information obtained from a serkheyle, or commander of 50, who was wounded and fell into our hands, that part of the attack which embraced the front of the post, was carried on by

the Assudillahy and Futtah Kutcheries;* comprising about 7,000 fire-locks, headed by Lally's corps of Europeans. The alarm in our rear, he stated to have been produced, by the Medzeid and Kereim kutcheries, and about 600 matchlock men; making in the whole, and on all sides, an attacking force, it was alledged, of about 15,000 men. The attempt on the rear was, however, very feeble; being evidently a mere diversion.

Nevertheless, all things considered, our situation was not a little hazardous; and we could not but feel grateful to that Providence, which graciously averted from us those heavier losses, to which, not so much, perhaps, from disparity, as from our divided position, we were at the time unavoidably exposed. Capt. William Brown, of our native infantry, suffered amputation of an arm; a musket-shot having pierced the artery. Many other Europeans, as well as sepoys, were also killed and wounded on the occasion.

The attack, which had, probably, for its object, the destruction of our battery, and the dismantling of our guns, was manifestly the suggestion of an European. The bodies of 15 Frenchmen, in the service of the enemy, were found in front of the post, and in the pocket of one of them, the return of a company.

The Sultaun, as it was said, still persisted in the attempt to persuade his people, that 4 French regts. were on their way to join him; a deception, of which those who fell into our hands, bitterly complained.

To our infinite satisfaction, our enfilading battery at the advanced post, although with only four 18-pounders, opened at sun-rise; and with such effect, that the flag-staff cavalier, and the works adjoining, were in a short time completely silenced. The left flank of the post was, however, still vexatiously galled, from a ruined village, on the S. of the Cavery,

* The Lion of God, and Victorious legions.—Ed.

by the enemy's snipers. After the cessation necessary to cool the guns, the battery renewed its fire in the afternoon.

23rd April.—The enemy were unexpectedly passive during last night; and, through some misapprehension or other, our batteries on either side did not resume their fire until 7 in the morning. The enemy, on the other hand, although yesterday completely silenced, opened several guns at intervals, from the flag-staff cavalier, and the neighbouring works. About 7 o'clock, however, our fire was resumed, with effects more formidable, from twelve 18-pounders, and 4 brass 12-pounders.

In the mean time, information was conveyed to us from the main body of the army, S. of the Cavery, that a large body of infantry had marched from the island in the course of last night; and that another attack on our division was probably in contemplation.

The loss of the enemy in the conflict of yesterday morning, is estimated at 700 men; great part of whom were left on the ground in front, and not a few even in the rear, of the post; which, at one time, they had succeeded in taking in reverse; having, with superior force, broke through the sepoys on duty in one part of the defences. They were, however, seasonably and gallantly charged, by 2 companies of the 75th, headed by Lieut. Jonathan Brown, a loyal American, belonging to that distinguished regiment.

From some papers found on the body of one of the Frenchmen, who fell in front of our post, it appeared that he was a citizen Wolfe, a municipal officer of the Mauritius. They all wore national cockades, with the sprig of laurel, &c. &c.

The enemy were permitted this forenoon to carry off their dead; when they conversed familiarly with our sepoys.

About 4 in the afternoon, during a dark squall of wind and rain, a lucky shot from one or other of our

batteries, struck down the flag-staff in the W.-ern cavalier; a circumstance which we flattered ourselves might, at the moment, have conveyed some awful misgivings to a superstitious garrison.

24th April.—The enemy had continued, during the night, to repair their dismantled parapets; and in the morning, surprised us with the production of several guns in a new work, embracing the N.W.-ern cavalier. These were, however, in their turn, also silenced, in the course of the forenoon, by our superior fire: with the exception of some pieces in remoter parts of the place, which our shot could not reach; and which, for corresponding reasons, could do us but little injury.

An unwelcome fall of rain in the evening destroyed the little share of comfort which the enemy permitted our people to enjoy at the advanced post.

25th April.—About 8 o'clock last night, 2 of the enemy's horsemen were taken, in an attempt to pass our piquets in the rear; and one of them, who had been shot in the elbow, stated that he belonged to the Sultaun's body-guard of cavalry, commanded by Khaun-e-jahaun—by the people vulgarly called Konjy Khaun—who, that moment, as he alledged, lay with a considerable force, behind the hill in our rear. This man was habited in the bubbery uniform—an angraka, or upper garment, of a colour approaching to purple, with white pointed streaks, made in the imitation of those on the skin of the royal tiger, and therefore called bubberies: bubber being one of the many designations of the tiger. This was the uniform worn by the Assud Illauhie—the Lion of God-legion.

Our batteries did not appear to be much employed this day; having, it was conceived, completed their object, so far as to have either silenced, or dismantled, the front of attack. In the mean time, a branch was run out, on the S. side of the river, some hundred feet, towards the spot intended for our grand breaching

battery; which was, however, expected not to open before the 28th or 29th of the month.

It had been now ascertained, that Col. Archibald Brown (whom I remembered as Adj.-Gen. to the troops, under Sir Hector Munro, at Negapatam) had taken possession of Caroor, on the 5th inst.: and we indulged in sanguine hopes, that before this, he may have been joined by Col. Read—with his important convoy of provisions.

A redoubt on the hill, in front of our left brigade, was finished in the course of last night, in order to prevent annoyance from that quarter.

The fire of the enemy recommenced in the afternoon, with accumulated fury; but gradually subsided towards evening, under the steady practice of our artillery.

Friday, 26th April.—About 2 in the morning, the enemy gave us an alert, but fainter than usual, towards the rear of our right brigade; apparently with the design of rocketing our park and moodikhaunah (depôt of grain) since, after launching several of these vexatious missiles in that direction, and hallooing in mockery of our camp followers, they drew off, without giving us further trouble.

The Sultaun displayed his flag, as usual, on his mosque day, and appeared to have added to the number of his guns; which were brought to bear on our batteries with great fury. They were, however, briskly and fiercely answered by our artillery, and an additional 4-gun battery; which, in consequence of the furious cannonade of yesterday, it had been found expedient to construct during the night.

The casualties in killed and wounded, in the Bombay line, since we crossed the Cavery, amounted, yesterday afternoon, to 170.

Accounts were received of the approach of Col. Brown's and Col. Read's divisions, towards Alumbady; which might, probably, have occasioned the fall in the price of grain, from one seir, to 3 seirs for

the rupee. Ghee, another most necessary article of consumption, now sold at 4 rupees the seir, or 10s. for less than a pound weight; and grain for our horses, at a rupee and a half the seir. The cattle were perishing by hundreds; and the rocky channel of the Cavery, was, in many places, choaked with their putrid carcases.

Just at dusk this afternoon, that fine corps, the Scotch brigade, with 5 companies of the veteran 74th, and the same detail from Meuron's Swiss regt. with a battalion of Madras sepoys, all under Col. Campbell, attacked and drove away the enemy from the stockade work, S.W. of the river. We had been prepared for this movement; and it was quite amusing to see the small sized Madrassies, couching and rushing to the assault, like a pack of beagles; the enemy bolting at one side, while the assailants entered on the other. But, passing beyond the stockade, in the traversed line along the canal, parallel with the river, our troops were fearfully exposed to the fire of the garrison, from the whole S. face of the fort. And in the course of the night, before they could be placed under cover, they suffered a loss of 40 Europeans, killed. Capt. Hay, of the Scotch brigade, was among the killed; and 9 officers were wounded. Of non-commissioned and privates, 130 were killed and wounded.

27th April.—Alarmed for the object of the important movement along the S. bank of the Cavery, the enemy continued, at intervals, a most furious cannonade, with incessant peals of musketry, along the whole of the face, during the night. About 3 in the morning, they also amused us, on our side, with a flight of rockets, in the rear of the park; while on the opposite side the river, they threatened the rear of our auxiliaries; the troop of his highness the Nizam.

Something a kin to despondence, was now beginning to steal upon the mind; and unless the aspect

of affairs soon changed, our calculations went to determine that this truly formidable place, manfully defended as it was, would not change masters without extensive blood-shedding. Something had, also, occurred on the S. side, to occasion the recal of one of the Madras battalions, which had been detached to our support: a circumstance which might certainly have exposed us to the hazard of another attack from a superior force of the garrison. This, however, might easily be accounted for, by the increasing duty which must have attended the work of our breaching battery, now daily expected to open.

In the attack of yesterday evening, on the stockade and traversed line, on the S. bank of the Cavery, Col. Campbell had pursued the fugitives even across the Mysore bridge, into the island; where, in a tent behind an intrenched post, he is said to have bayoneted several Frenchmen: but having thus pushed beyond all support, he was constrained to return, the way he went: and it was thus, that the heavy loss of men and officers was incurred. That on the part of the enemy was estimated as very considerable. Happily, before the night was far advanced, our people had been placed under tolerable cover, against the tremendous fire of the garrison. I had it in information from Capt. Dalrymple, of the 74th, that the grenadiers of that regt. in crossing to the island on this occasion, actually pitched several Frenchmen on the points of their bayonets over the side of the bridge, into the Cavery.

Sunday, 28th April.—Last night the enemy permitted us unaccountably to rest without disturbance, at least, on our side the river; since they forbore from their usual attempt to annoy our rear. But this morning, about 8 o'clock, a body of horse made its appearance, moving circuitously round, towards the rear of our left flank. A scarlet umbrella bespoke the presence of a commander of distinguished rank.

These were, probably, the corps relieved from Caniambady; where the Sultaun was said to have had a camp of observation; doubtless, ready to dash across the ford, in the event of our being compelled to raise the siege, from the swelling of the river. A small body of infantry, headed by an European on horseback, accompanied the corps.

It was stated, that the Sultaun had this day conveyed another letter to Gen. Harris, which met with a reception similar to what had been experienced by several former communications. Were it not that all these were manifestly designed, at such a crisis, to delay our operations, the circumstance was certainly such as might have excited our commisseration. The perfidious character of the enemy had, indeed, extinguished all sympathy.

29th April.—A breaching battery for six 18-pounders, within 450 yards of the S.W. face of the fort, was completed this morning before day-light, on the S. side of the river: and another, 30 yards more in advance, for 6 more pieces of the same caliber, was in a state of forwardness. The enemy were unaccountably passive during the night.

Some apprehensions were entertained with regard to the practicability of the ford leading to the intended breach; but as fortune, or Providence, had hitherto proved favourable to us, we resigned ourselves, with hope, to the chapter of accidents.

The prices of every article of subsistence were advancing rapidly every day. Ghee, for instance, was scarcely procurable at 7 rupees the seir; that is, more than a rupee an ounce. Our camp followers were, therefore, reduced to great distress; and I had no less than 35 to provide for, besides my bullocks and little charger; on whom it was not impossible but I might be compelled to depend for safety and life. But as Gen. Floyd, with the supplies collected by Cols. Brown and Read, was expected by the 2nd or

4th of May, at furthest, we consoled ourselves with the prospect of some relief, at no distant period; at all events, in articles of the first necessity. It was at such a crisis, that Maj. Hart, of the Madras establishment, furnished to the army under Gen. Harris, that *vital* supply of grain, which, to himself, was followed by such unhappy results.

The guns for the breaching battery having, unfortunataly, foundered in a swamp, on their way down, the opening scene was unavoidably delayed. This was, however, a circumstance which we did not much regret; since it may be expected to open with greater effect, when in concert with another battery of 5 guns, which was expected to be finished by the morrow.

The enemy made two ineffectual attempts to dislodge our troops from their position in the stockade work. The first at 1, and the other at 6, in the morning of the 27th: in each of which they were repulsed, with considerable loss.

30th April.—Our breaching battery opened this morning at day-light, with 5 pieces only; and, as might have been expected, without any material effect. Twelve would certainly have spoken more powerfully; but obstacles will sometimes occur, that cannot always be foreseen. Nevertheless, from the known zeal which prevailed at head-quarters, we were convinced that there existed some cogent reason for this proceeding by piece-meal, with so momentous a stake in hand. The presence of Gen. Floyd, and his division, we now began to consider as indispensibly necessary, to render our success secure, should matters be carried to the very probable extremity of a general assault: and to this might, possibly, be ascribed some short delay in effecting a breach.

From an oblique view this afternoon of the part battered, the effect of our fire from the 5 guns seemed, indeed, scarcely visible. Neither could this be at

all surprising, had we then known what was subsequently discovered—that this part of the wall was perfectly cyclopean; being constructed with massive blocks of grey granite, 6 and 7 feet long, and thick in proportion, set end-ways in the work. When, however, a day or two afterwards, these masses became well shaken in their places, by our 18-pound shot, the wall began to totter from the weight of its own cumbrous materials, and finally came to the ground.

We could not, however, forbear making some unpleasant reflections, on the unaccountable delay of two complete days, prior to the 26th, contrasted with the seeming precipitation of this day; which must have indicated to the besieged, the precise spot behind the breach on which they were to throw up their intrenchments.

1st May.—The 5-gun battery resumed its fire this forenoon; supported by the enfilade, from our side, which was held in reserve yesterday, and by the batteries before erected, on the S. bank of the river. In the mean time, the enemy's cavalry appeared in the rear of our right flank, near the ford, and drove off sundry of our bullocks.

An engineer officer is said to have crossed the ford last night, in front of the S.W.-ern approach; and to have proceeded within 80 feet of the intended breach. The ford was reported practicable, with very little difficulty, whether in ruggedness of bottom, or depth of water; the latter not being more than middle deep, in any part. This circumstance relieved us from some very serious apprehensions.

It had now became matter of surmise whether the Sultaun had not, in reality, left his capital; and if he had so done, whether his object, would not have been to intercept the important convoy under Gen. Floyd. Fortunately for us, this was an evolution rather beyond the scope of his system of tactics.

On viewing the effect of our fire this afternoon, the

exterior work before the cavalier tower appeared breached, for some feet below the cordon; but it was now said that the principal breach was intended to be in the curtain, more to the left, or S.-ward.

2nd May.—Our second breaching battery, consisting of two 24 and three 18-pounders, opened this morning; and in concert with the other batteries, on either side the river, continued to thunder upon the fort, for the greatest part of the day. In the forenoon, an explosion of powder and rockets, was observed, in the rear of the N.W.-ern flag-staff cavalier, which must, for the moment, have occasioned considerable confusion. Once or twice in the course of the day, the town was also perceived to be on fire, in several places. These were, however, extinguished; apparently without much difficulty.

A slave belonging to Meir Sadoc, who deserted the town yesterday, confidently affirmed that the Sultaun had not quitted the capital. If so, how desperate the game he was about to risk! in staking his life and empire on the move, which was that day in contemplation against them.

The breach was in such a state of forwardness at sun-set, that the usual arrangements were resorted to, preparatory to the impending storm. For after holding out so long, it did not seem likely that the Sultaun would now be prevailed upon to accede to the terms said to have been finally proposed to him.

3rd May.—The Sultaun, as usual, displayed his flag, this—Friday—morning; as we hoped and expected, for the last time. As I have hitherto omitted to state the circumstance, I may as well now notice, that this was a large square flag, of a lightish green; with a blazing sun in the centre; set off with the bubbery, or tiger, streak, on the sides and angles.

Lieut.-Col. Montague, of the Bengal artillery, lost his arm, in the course of yesterday; and another officer his life, in the batteries, S. of the river.

It was the opinion of several among us, that through

the exterior breaches, might be discovered a third parapet, within; perhaps recently constructed, to cut off the breach. This was, however, disputed; and we could but ejaculate our hope that nothing of the kind was in existence; since, in all human probability, the die would be cast in less than four-and-twenty hours.

Between 12 and 1 this day, we were kept on the alert by two distinct divisions of cavalry, of considerable force, each as it appeared from the scarlet umbrella borne over him, commanded by an officer of the highest rank. These we subsequently understood to have been Futtah Hyder, the Sultaun's eldest son, but by a concubine, and Purneiah, the Diwan, or chancellor. They were, also, accompanied by a small detachment of infantry. After parading for some time, from the rear of the left towards that of the centre, and drawing out our in-line piquets, with a round or two from our 6-pounders, they found it discreet to draw off; without disturbing us any further. As this was, however, considered their fighting day, we expected to become better acquainted with them before the night was over.

The breaching battery, on the opposite side the river, took fire about 3 in the afternoon; and occasioned some sharp discharges of musketry from the rear of the breach, and the works adjoining. The fire was, however, soon got under, without mischief.

That part of our line destined for the assault, consisting of 600 Europeans, and 480 sepoy grenadiers, under Cols. Dunlop and Mignan, crossed the ford to the S. bank, at sun-set this evening.

Saturday, 4th May, 1799.—The forenoon of this eventful day was spent on our side, in many a fervent and anxious ejaculation for the success of that momentous enterprize, which was to crown with fresh glory the efforts of our gallant soldiery. Of the victorious result I do not think that the most faint hearted

among us entertain the slightest doubt. In this we were supported by the reflection, that in the force destined for the conflict, consisting of nearly 5,000 of the best soldiers in the army, we reckoned from 12 to 1400 European grenadiers; accustomed to bear down all before them: and with the glorious prize in view, I, for my part, considered that there was scarcely a concievable obstacle of sufficient power to resist them, when ably conducted.

About a quarter-past 1, P.M. as we were anxiously peering, telescope in hand, at the ford, and the intermediate ground, between our batteries and the breach, a sharp and sudden discharge of musketry and rockets, along the W.-ern face of the fort, announced to us that Gen. Baird, and the column of assault, were crossing the ford; and immediately afterwards we perceived our soldiers, in rather loose array, rushing towards the breach. The moment was one of agony; and we continued, with aching eyes, to watch the result; until after a short and appalling interval, we saw the acclivity of the breach covered with a cloud of crimson:—and in a very few minutes afterwards, observing the files passing rapidly to the right and left at the summit of the breach, I could not help exclaiming, "thank God! the business is done."

A very few minutes afterwards, however, I could not but observe, with anxious apprehension, that the troops who had defiled to the N. rampart, instead of advancing, demonstrated by their fire, that they were retreating, from traverse to traverse, back towards the breach, which they had but just quitted; soon, however, to resume the offensive. This was the very point at which the Sultaun, furnishing a splendid example for the imitation of greater and better men, made his last gallant stand. And here it was that Lieut. Trevor, of the 77th, fell; most probably by the Sultaun's own hand; for from the retiring fire, it was sufficiently clear, that he was

repulsing the assailants from several of the traverses erected across the rampart. But, receiving a musket-shot in the shoulder (which I saw the next morning, bandaged up) the unhappy prince was compelled to retreat, to that inner gate-way, where, amidst heaps of slain, his body was ultimately discovered.

The firing continued in different parts of the place, until about 2 o'clock, or a little afterwards; when, the whole of the works being in the possession of our troops, and St. George's ensign (Gen. Harris's flag) floating proudly from the flag-staff of the S.-ern cavalier, announced to us that the triumph was completed. Before the day closed, the palace, with all its treasure and inmates, was in our hands—and all was calm. Our attention being for a moment directed towards Carrigat, we could perceive the W.-ern side of the hill, swarming, to an extraordinary degree, with the fugitives from the town and garrison; making the best of their way to the N.-ward.

During the whole of the day, Futtah Hyder and Purneiah, had kept the rear of the Bombay line in constant alarm; being accompanied by the same detachment of infantry formerly noticed; and, what was unusual, with a couple of field-pieces. They remained, however, very quiet spectators, behind the black rock in our rear, until the afternoon; when the royal salute from our camp, on the appearance of the British flag, and the appalling shouts of the scattered reserves, which protected our line, announced, in thunder, the final catastrophe. The sudden and simultaneous start, which they then made, seemed as if a thunder-bolt had fallen amongst them; although they had, nevertheless, the audacity to charge within the piquets of our left brigade; and to sweep off many of our bullocks, before they finally disappeared.

Sunday, 5th May.—To crown this splendid success—which I think I may venture to call unparalleled in the history of British India, whether we

contemplate it in its immediate, or remoter, consequences—the body of the Sultaun was last night brought to the palace, from amidst an accumulated mass of his slaughtered followers, in the gate-way leading to the N. rampart; 300 bodies being counted in that spot alone. I had proceeded in the morning into the fort, in order to enter upon my charge of prize agent; and it would be scarcely possible to describe, in adequate terms, the objects of horror, the ghastly spectacle, presented to the senses, by the bodies of the slain, in every attitude, and in every direction; lying in the virandahs, and along the principal street, leading from the E. or Gunjiaum gate, to the palace. On entering the exterior square of the palace, and in the W.-ern virandah, or colonade, leading, as I afterwards found, to the Towshah khaunah, or depôt of moveables; observing a group of individuals crowding round some object, which seemed to claim their earnest attention, I repaired to the spot; and there, in one of the common short doolies, intended for women, with his knees bent upwards almost double, I beheld the lifeless remains of the late dreaded Sultaun. The right shoulder was skilfully bandaged up, as I have already mentioned. His complexion I considered fair, for his caste; and his hands and feet were particularly delicate. His beard was close shaved, with the exception of the upper lip, on which he wore mustachios.

The individual—an officer of great merit—has long since gone to his account; otherwise I might have forborne to mention what I am about to state. This officer, one of the by-standers, asked me if I could lend him my pen-knife; which I accordingly did. Before I could recollect myself, he had cut off one of the Sultaun's mustachios; which he said he had promised to his friend, Dr. Cruso, of our establishment. For the moment, I consoled myself with the reflection, that there were few, if any, of

the Sultaun's followers, witnesses of the circumstance; but there were reasons to apprehend, that the fact was neither unobserved nor forgotten.

Not many minutes passed, however, before a palanquin was brought; and the remains of the fallen monarch, were conveyed, from the public gaze, to the interior court of the palace, leading to the Zenaunah, or quarter of the women.

The compassion with which we should, otherwise, have contemplated the fate of this unhappy prince, was greatly abated, by the undoubted fact, that only a few days since, he had put to a cruel death, 13 soldiers of the 33rd regt. who had unfortunately strayed into the works, on the night of the attack on the tope, previous to the junction of the Bombay army. On disinterring some of the bodies, to ascertain the fact, it was found that they had been destroyed by driving a nail into their temples.

The Sultaun did not fall alone; for most of his principal commanders shared his fate; some prior to, and some during, the assault. Among them were Meir Ghoffaur, Seyud Saheb, Meir Sadock, Seyud Mahomed Khaun, Sheir Khaun; and many more, who fell at different periods of the attack. One only, of whom we possessed any particular knowledge, namely Bubburjung—the tiger of war—escaped, to experience a more ignoble fate with the insurgent Doohndiah; on whose side he was killed, in the last action, in which that desperate adventurer was defeated, and slain, by the illustrious Duke of Wellington; then Col. Wellesley.

The pioneer officers stated, that they had actually buried not less than 10,000 bodies; which has by some, been considered an exaggeration; because the conflict was terminated in so short a time. But it was never disputed that there were 300 dead bodies, found heaped together, in the gate-way, leading to the N. rampart, from whence was brought that of the Sultaun; who, very possibly, might have escaped

alive, if he had not cut at the European soldier, who made an attempt to seize his belt.

The loss on our side, considering the magnitude of the risk, in an attack in open day, and exposed to the fire of a long line of works, part of which could have been but little injured by our batteries, may be considered, as comparatively small indeed: not more, I believe than 400, killed and wounded. And here, with equal pride and pleasure, I may be permitted to record the fact, that this is, in a great measure, to be ascribed to the admirable precision with which the Bombay artillery from the enfilading battery, threw their shot along the interior of the rampart of the W.-ern face; and particularly in keeping down the defence of M. Chapius, and his party of Frenchman, in the N.W.-ern cavalier, up to the very crisis at which our people had gained the summit of the breach. Otherwise, the fire from the cavalier, bearing right upon the breach, must have occasioned, among the assailants, a carnage, the most appalling. But, whatever the loss, it was said to have been, the determination of Gen. Harris, rather than relinquish his grasp, to have brought the very last man to the attack. In serious truth, the crisis was hazardous in the extreme.

Two days prior to the assault, it was now said, the Sultaun had made his arrangements for quitting the capital, and retiring with his family and treasures to Chittuldroog. But his destiny, probably, with his expectations of the rising of the river, had led him to protract the execution of his design, until the hand of death put a period to all his prospects. The state of his Towshah khaunah, or depôt of baggage which contained the richest of his jewels, and specie to an unknown amount, with hundreds of women's doolies in preparation, seemed to confirm the reality of this design.

The whole of his family, including every one of the princes, his sons, were in our hands; with the

exception of Futtah Hyder; who was then retiring to the N.-ward. But the family of that prince, as well as those of all the principal officers, were also in the town; and at the mercy of the British government. Thirty-seven Frenchmen, including M. Chapuis, had moreover, become our prisoners.

Thus, as we had reason to think, was terminated in a short campaign of only 2 months, a war, which under circumstances, more unfavourable, might have been protracted to a period of as many years. The lustre which it shed on the character of our troops, both European and native, was perhaps the best, certainly the noblest, compensation that could accrue for every risk and every fatigue; and it will scarcely be credited, that our casualties, from the commencement to the close, did not exceed 1,000 men.

The body of the Sultaun, whose name was immediately, by his Mahomedan followers, consecrated as a Shehid, or martyr to the faith, was conveyed, in the course of the afternoon, with all the honors due to exalted rank, to the Laul Bagh, at the E.-ern extremity of the island; where it was committed to the grave, in the magnificent, and truly beautiful, mausoleum of black granite, erected by his father, Hyder.

In the course of the year 1783, on what he might have considered, the triumphant termination of the war with the English, he received from Dehly, a sunnud, or patent, with the title, of which the following is a transcript—

عمدة الملک مبارک الدو له تیپو سلطان علي خان بهادر
هز بر جنک فدوي شاه علم پاد شاه غازي هجره ۱۱۹۷

or in English characters—

Oomdut ul Moolk—Mubaurek ud doulah—Teepu Sultaun Ally Khaun Bahauder—Huzzubber jung—Fedwy Shah Aulum Padshah Ghazy.

That is to say—Pillar of the empire—a blessing to the state—Teepu, sovereign in dignity—exalted Khaun (or Lord) heroic Lion in battle—devoted of

Shah Aulum, Emperor, ever victorious (over infidels) hidjerah, 1197:—corresponding with the year of our Redeemer 1783; and marked the 25th of the reign of Shah Aulum.

The awful manner in which, after all, the day concluded, would almost persuade even an infidel, that there was something like the intervention of an overruling Providence, in bringing our operations to a consummation so seasonable, and so signally marked. For this very evening, at the moment the remains of the Sultaun were borne to his last abode, there came on a thunder-storm, more tremendous than any I had ever witnessed: certainly under canvass. Fortunately I had regained my tent in camp, just as the storm was commencing. But the reverberation, occasioned by the rocky substratum of the district and the formation of the neighbouring hills, was quite terrific. During the continuance of this awful conflict of the elements, two officers were killed, in the Madras line; and on our (Bombay) side, Lieut. Bellasis, of the artillery, after escaping all the hazards of the battery, was dangerously hurt in his tent; and more than one of his servants killed close by his side. Although the danger was still imminent, I could not but feel most thankful, that I had been permitted to reach my tent, before the tempest broke upon me.

Monday, 6th May.—The Bombay army changed its ground this day; bringing its rear to the N. bank of the Cavery, immediately under the walls of Seringaputtun. The river had risen upwards of a foot, in consequence of last night's heavy rain; the water being more than breast high to my bearers, where we crossed, under the Derryadoulut Bagh.* In the course of the evening, we experienced another thunder shower; so that nothing could be more surprisingly manifest, than the almost unexampled timeliness of our attack. It would be superfluous,

* The garden of the treasures of the sea.

at a period so long subsequent, to dwell upon the alarmingly exhausted state of our provisions: at the moment of this important capture, the supply of the grand army being reduced to that of three days only. But the Bombay division was said to have still remaining, what might be sufficient for 15 days, for that part alone; which, divided among the whole, might, possibly, furnish a general supply, for the combatants, of 6 days; resigning the camp followers to starvation.

Two Frenchmen came in, in the course of the day, and stated that they had just quitted the force under Futtah Hyder; who was, as they alleged, on his way to Bednour; and that there remained with him only 15 more of their countrymen; who would, also, have abandoned, the Prince and his fortunes, but for their apprehensions, as to the treatment they might experience from the British.

The objects that met the eye, in all parts of the town, both to day and yesterday, were revolting in the extreme.

Having now quitted the Bombay division for an indefinite period, I was permitted to fix my abode in the Diwan Khaunah, or hall of audience; on the E. side of the exterior court of the palace; the left wing of the hall being divided off for me, with kanauts, or tent walls.

The wealth of the palace, which was sufficiently dazzling to the eyes of many who were much more habituated to the sight of hoarded treasures than we were, seemed, at the moment, in specie, and jewels, and bullion, and bales of costly stuff, to surpass all estimate.

Some conception may, perhaps, be formed of the magnificient expectations which we were led to entertain, when I state that on the first day on which we were occupied in taking charge of the specie, we counted not less than twelve hundred thousand sultauny pagodas; which, at 4 rupees to the sultauny,

was equivalent with 48 laks of rupees, or nearly half a million sterling. The pagodas being sealed up in bags of 1,000 each, it needed only to ascertain the contents of the first bag—for so we were apprized by the shraufs, or money-changers—and to take the remainder by weight; in which there was never found the smallest deficiency. The prize agents, 7 in number, were therefore perhaps, well warranted in congratulating each other on being each 10,000*l.* richer, than in the morning of that day.

In the mean time, although the whole of the palace had been consigned to the safe guard of a detachment of Europeans, ever since the evening of the storm, the Towshah Khaunah, or baggage depôt, in the S.W. angle, of the first court, was discovered, in the morning of the 5th, to have been the scene of indiscriminate plunder. What led to this discovery, was a train of pagodas, strewn from the door of the depôt, along the floor of the W. virandah, to the entrance of the court, or quadrangle. The question agitated, was, whether this unfortunate spoliation had taken place prior to, or after, the period at which the palace had been put under safe-guard. But the loss to the captors in general, could never be ascertained; while but little advantage accrued to the soldier. Nevertheless, some conception may be formed on the subject, when it is stated, that Dr. Mein, a surgeon in the army, purchased from a soldier of the 74th regt. for a mere trifle, 2 pair of solid gold bangles, or bracelets, set with diamonds; the least costly of which, was valued by a Hyderabad jeweller, at 80,000 sultaunies; or 3,20,000 rupees; at the lowest exchange, equivalent with 32,000*l.* sterling. The other pair he declared to be of such superlative value, that he could not pretend to express any opinion.

It was, moreover, notorious, that a quantity of the most valuable pearl was to be bought in the bazaars, from the soldiery, for a bottle of spirits. There

did not, indeed, at the time, exist a doubt, but that these costly strays, must have belonged to the best part of the Sultaun's treasure and jewels, which had been made up in readiness for removal; and which had he not been destined to destruction, he might, with the greatest facility, have sent off on the night of the 3rd:—the whole of the N.W.-ern side of the island being entirely open to such a measure; which might have been carried into execution with perfect security, in the absence of our cavalry. The value of the precious assortment, in jewels alone, was estimated to us, by individuals, who considered themselves qualified to speak on the subject, at 9 laks of sultaunies; equal to 36 laks of rupees; or nearly 3,60,000*l.* sterling; but of the specie, no estimate was ever formed.

Up to the 6th May—My narrative of the transactions of this memorable campaign, as far as I was myself an eye-witness, has been supported on the best of all foundations—a diary conscientiously preserved—but I shall now be constrained to relate from memory, those circumstances in my story, that left the deepest impression on my mind; between this period and my return to Bombay.

When I first took up my abode in the palace, I found that a question had been raised, among the prize agents of the Coast army, whether Maj. Forbes* and myself, accredited by that of Bombay, were entitled to share in the advantages of the trust, on equal terms with themselves. As I was never admitted to take apart in any discussion on the subject, I was quite at a loss to account for an attempt, which appeared to me so completely at variance with every principle of justice. The responsibility

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* Appointed by the officers of the King's troops, forming part of the Bombay army—as Maj. Price was by the officers of the E.I.C's troops, forming the other part.—Ed.

being equal, I could see no possible reason why the advantages should not be the same. But in the course of a day or two, they all of them expressly declared that, although the subject had been in agitation, they had finally agreed to drop it for ever. The drift of this insiduous declaration, was not developed to me, until nearly 5 years afterwards: when, on my return to England, I received a letter from Major, now Gen. Forbes, announcing to me that the Madras agents had commenced an action, in one of the courts of that Presidency, to deprive us of our rights to an equal share in the agency; and calling upon me, of course, to bear my part in the expence of defending those rights.

That I should have been equally surprised and disgusted, at what I considered a violation of good faith, so sordid and unprovoked, in men, with whom we had equally partaken in the risk, responsibility, and labour, of the concern, was most natural; and that, after their express declaration at Seringaputtun, at the commencement, they should, at the expiration of 4 years, have resumed their sordid project, did I must confess, produce in my mind, sentiments of indignation, that have not yet all abated. But a very few months prior to the communication from Gen. Forbes, Maj. Armstrong, one of their coadjutators, had written to me in England, that in a month or two, he hoped to remit to me, a balance of my agency; to the amount of 1,500 or 2,000*l.* and after all, for the paltry consideration of a few hundred pounds, to unite in despoiling me of my undoubted rights, did certainly impress me with an opinion not very favourable to the integrity of those gentlemen. They well knew, that had they not, by their insiduous declaration at Seringaputtun, set our apprehensions at rest, the slightest application in our behalf to Gen. Harris, at the time, would have quashed the dishonest project for ever.

Unfortunately, either from the disadvantage of

both Gen. Forbes and myself, being absent from the spot, or from defect of information on the part of those employed to defend us, we lost our cause; by what was generally acknowledged to have been a cruel, if not an unrighteous, judgment; for even so thought Judge Gwillim himself; and I was, thus, unwarrantably deprived of what would have rendered me in the decline of life, most comfortable, if not quite independent; whereas the fruits of this unjust spoliation, could have been but trifling in the brilliant fortune of these worthies; if not swallowed up in their gambling speculations.

The recollection of an injury, so cold-hearted, deliberate, and unprovoked, even after the lapse of 34 years, does not recur, without feelings of the bitterest resentment. But all reflection is now in vain; although I am persuaded, that had Gen. Forbes been present in England, while Gen. Lord Harris was yet living, and we had carried the cause before the house of Lords, this unrighteous judgment would have been set aside, if not altogether reversed. And here I quit the irksome and ungrateful subject for ever.

In the back wall of the hall of audience, which lay open on the E. side of the first square or court, was the door of the treasury; which had no other opening; and was therefore perfectly dark, on the closing of the door. In front of this door, well guarded by European sentries, were placed the tables, on which we took account of the specie and jewels. And as the former had been sifted, to the last fanam, by the third day, we proceeded to value and lot the contents of the jewel office. The task of registering these glittering articles, was assigned to me; a Hindu goldsmith, or jeweller, being retained, to set a valuation on the different articles. And it was certainly not a little to our credit, considering the magnitude and variety of property, to find the general accuracy with which this was accomplished. It was,

at all events, this valuation and registery, that furnished the ready means of that prompt distribution, which commenced in a very few days.

During the forenoon of one of the days, on which we were engaged in this gratifying task, we were not a little astonished at a sudden discharge of musketry, just behind us in the square. My first impression certainly was, that the people of the town, who had not been disarmed, had risen upon the garrison, now under the command of the Hon. Col. Wellesley. But from this apprehension, we were immediately relieved, when we perceived several tigers scampering loose about the square. Snatching up a bulse of emeralds, of which we were registering the account, I made for the door of the treasury, within which I was in perfect security. The discharge of musketry, however, continued, and we now found that it proceeded from a party of H.M. 33rd regt. ordered by the Commandant to destroy the tigers, 6 or 7 in number, chained up in the N. virandah of the square; of which the feeding had, it seems, been found inconvenient. Whether from the effect of the shot, or a convulsive effort on the part of these formidable pets, the fastenings of several of them gave way; and they had for some minutes the full range of the square. They were, however, finally all destroyed; one of them giving his last roar, actually by the side of my palanquin, in the place set apart for me, in the Diwan Khaunah.

The registration of jewellery having been nearly accomplished, a distribution of the splendid booty commenced, under the controul of a prize committee, composed of some of the principal officers of the army; Gen. Floyd being the president. An attempt was made by the same committee, to abridge the Com.-in-Ch. in his established right, to one-eighth of the captured property; and to reduce the per centage of the agency, below the usual allowance of 5 per cent.; although it was well known that the

latter was to be divided between 7; that being the number of the agents for both armies—King's and Company's. They were foiled in both points; the Com.-in-Ch. indignantly disclaiming any authority on their part to interfere, in any manner, with his rights; and the prize agents, announcing their determination not to submit to the defalcation with which they were threatened: and, forthwith, lodging a considerable sum of money each, to meet the exigencies of an action at law. In the mean time, the distribution was proceeding rapidly, a proportion of each share being made up in jewellery; and certainly, some circumstances took place, during this complicated operation, which it would be, perhaps, somewhat amusing to relate,

In the allotment which fell to the share of Gen. Harris, as Com.-in-Ch. there was a gorgeous emerald necklace; which, on the information of our jeweller, had been registered, at the value of 50,000 sultaunies, or something more than 20,000*l.* sterling: certainly, on sober reflection, a prodigious sum to be taken in a single lot; and we could not have reasonably expressed any wonder, when Capt. afterwards Gen. Sir John Malcolm, brought the article to our table, with a desire from Gen. Harris that it might be re-valued. But we were, certainly, not a little surprised, when our jeweller turned sharp round upon us, with the declaration, that he had said 25,000 instead of 50,000: in Hindustauny, patcheiss, and not patchauss, hazaur: the one signifying 25—and the other 50.

On a more minute inspection of the article, which was composed of 65 emerald beads, from the weight of 120 rutties, or carats, to 11, downwards—the larger being of the size, and nearly the shape, of a green-gage plum, but altogether full of flaws—it certainly did appear of such very inferior intrinsic value, that we felt it impossible to resist the desire of changing it, for some other lot of the value of 50,000 sultaunies, which proved perfectly satisfactory to the General.

In fact, I had subsequently reason to think, that it originally belonged to some plundered pagoda, in which it ornamented the neck of some Hindu idol; and in more favourable times, might possibly have been redeemed even at the larger sum: for I had, in my own lot, the ornament of a shrine, composed of tarnished pearl, for which I received the full valuation, from some of the neighbouring Brahmins, through the interposition of old Butcha Row; although, in appearance, it was fit for nothing but the garniture of a horse.

What subsequently became of this imposing necklace, I have never been able to learn. But some of our speculating coadjutors proposed, that it should be broken into separate parts, and disposed of by lottery. Whether this scheme was ever carried into execution, I had not the means of ascertaining.

On another occasion, Sir David Baird made his appearance at the prize table, exhibiting, with anger, ill suppressed, a large ruby ring, which he said had been allotted to him at the value of 1,000 sultaunies; but which, on being taken out of the setting, proved to be nothing more than a lump of coloured glass, not worth even as many cowries. Fortunately, on referring to the register, it was found that I had entered in a parenthesis—(if real) "1,000 sultaunies." This was not less satisfactory to ourselves than it was to the General, and we rejoiced at the opportunity of doing him justice, by exchanging the allotment, for another of sufficient value.

Much about the same time also, we had the mortification of receiving from Maj.-Gen. Popham, a most grevious complaint, that we had valued the allotment which fell to his share, at 10,000 sultaunies; whereas, they appeared to him nothing better than a bunch of chipped glass. When the parcel was handed over to the jeweller, for re-inspection, he declared that the article was fully worth the sum; and that he had not a doubt but the money would

be given for it in the bazaar. The General consented to make the trial; and actually received, for the article, not less than 1,000 sultaunies beyond the valuation. We rejoiced at the circumstance; but I do not recollect that the General felt it expedient to relinquish the surplus. The article consisted of a bulse of table diamonds: which, certainly, did not appear better than so many chops of talc, or isinglass. They are, however, much used in the formation of native ornaments; and have, therefore, generally a very ready sale.

Another, and I believe the last, complaint, that was brought before us, and for which we all felt a more than ordinary degree of regret, was on the subject of an allotment, which fell to the share of Maj. now Gen. Sir Thomas Dallas, which he, very naturally, requested to have exchanged. The article consisted of unsightly, tarnished, pearl, in festoons; which he very humourously said, could be of no use to him, but to caparison his horse. Our jeweller persisted, however, in affirming his first valuation; and I rather think Sir Thomas was obliged, after all, to take up with his lot. It so happened, singularly enough, that the counter-part of this lot fell to my share; and as I have before remarked, most probably made part of the ornament of some Hindu shrine; for it was evidently intended, as a sort of veil, or curtain; and as such, through the intervention of my old friend, Butcha Row—who had superintended the Towshah Khaunah for a period of 40 years—I certainly received for it, its full valuation. I was, in fact, given to understand, that it had been taken, on some occasion or other, from the Meylgotah pagoda, among the hills, a few miles to the N.W. of the metropolis.

I think I may venture to say, then, that through a list of more than 1,000 commissioned officers, who had shared in the captured property, these were the only complaints that ever reached us: and I,

therefore, conceive, that we were fully entitled to our meed of praise, for the unwearied attention, assiduity, and zeal, with which we devoted ourselves, to facilitate what was then considered of the first importance—a prompt, and immediate, distribution of the splendid booty thus entrusted to our hands.

During our researches into the contents of the Towshah Khaunah, one interesting and melancholy fact, was brought to light; which I may be pardoned for introducing in this, its proper, place. In an early part of my narrative, I have referred to the detention of the unfortunate Gen. Mathews. And it will scarcely be believed that, at the expiration of nearly 18 years, in one of the compartments of an English-turned wooden spice-box (among the complicated masses which filled this depôt) a card should be found, inscribed in the General's well known hand-writing, with these emphatic words—"General Richard Mathews, murdered"—mentioning the day of the month and the year, of the foul transaction, namely—the 16th day of August, 1783.

It may be a question, how the General can be conceived to have been the recorder of his own death. He was, doubtless, apprized, by some of his guards, of the fate that awaited him; he naturally enough, being a man of considerable strength of mind, resolved thus to commit to time, and to the vengeance of his countrymen, an attestation under his own hand, of the perfidy to which he had fallen a victim. I have, luckily, preserved a copy of the memorandum, in which the date of the inhuman murder is expressly stated; which must, therefore, have been perpetrated in the rainy season of 1783. The spice-box, with the card included, exactly as it was found, was conveyed to the Governor-general. The General's letter-book was also found, and was offered to me, but I declined receiving it. I remarked, however, with regret, that in some of his letters he complained bitterly of the insubordination which

prevailed, among some of the officers under his command. The people of the town acknowledged themselves fully aware of the General's fate, although they evaded giving any of the particulars; looking upon such a circumstance as an occurrence, not at all unusual, in the sanguinary policy of the late Sultaun.

When we had continued the distribution nearly to a close, we became rather at a loss, for what would serve to make up the shares of a long list of subalterns, who had not yet participated in the booty. Among the captured property in our hands, was the superb throne, overlaid with sheets of pure gold, which the Sultaun had yet never mounted; and which was now destined to seal the triumph of his hated adversaries. We received an order from the prize committee, to break up the gorgeous piece of furniture; and to divide the whole of the precious metal, which was of the highest touch, and almost flexible to the hand, into parcels of the weight of 360 sultaunies each; being exactly one-third of a subaltern's share: which amounted to 1,080 sultaunies.*

These allotments of gold, now that the market was nearly glutted with pearl, and jewels of every description, became, unquestionably, the source of greater profit to the sharers, than an article so much fallen in value. And it was not a little gratifying to me, that a very considerable part of the same, fell to the lot of my constituents of the Bombay army. The throne itself, as far as I can now describe it, was a clumsy wooden platform, of 6 or 8 sides, entirely overlaid with gold, of the thickness, I should conceive, of a sheet of lead; sculptured all over with the tiger-streak device. It was to be supported on 4 tigers of wood, also covered with gold; and on an iron stay, curving over from the hinder part of the

* At 10 shillings to a sultauny, exceeding 500*l.* sterling.—Ed.

platform, was to be fixed, the Homai, or phœnix; also covered with gold, and set with jewels. This was sold, unbroken, to Gen. Gent, of the Madras establishment for 5,000 sultaunies, or about 2,500*l*. The gold, exclusive of Gen. Gent's purchase, produced altogether, the sum of 50,000 sultaunies—about 25,000*l*.

Having completed the registration of jewels, I was employed, in conjunction with Maj.(afterwards Gen.) Ogg, of the Madras establishment, to make a selection from among the manuscripts in the Sultaun's library; to be presented to the Hon. the E. I. Company. The library and depôt of manuscripts, was a dark room, in the S.E. angle of the upper virandah of the interior quadrangle of the palace. Instead of being beautifully arranged, as in the Bodleian, the books were heaped together in hampers, covered with leather; to consult which, it was necessary to discharge the whole contents on the floor. The selection, which we completed, with all the care and discrimination in our care to bestow, extended, in the whole, to the number of 300, and something over, all of them manuscripts of the choicest description; whether for matter, beauty of penmanship, or richness of decoration. These were, however, by superior authority, afterwards returned to the general mass; and altogether translated to the E. I. House in London; where I hope and trust they will be as well taken care of, as properly applied.

One manuscript, which we certainly thought of paramount interest, although not to be compared in beauty of penmanship with most others in the library, was, by particular injunction, conveyed to Col. William Kirkpatrick. This was an elaborate history of the lately subverted dynasty of Mysore: namely, that of Hyder Ally, and his less fortunate son. As far as I can recollect, it bore the title of Sultaun-e-Towarikh —the king of histories. I took the liberty of perusing the work: and I even made an abridged translation of that part of it, which referred to the ill-fated

campaign of Bednour. What ultimately became of this very interesting volume, I cannot positively say; but I have understood, that it was burnt by accident. Query, if it was not suppressed, for reasons of policy? I have, however, reason to know that Maj. Ogg, had the precaution to take a copy of it; and I, therefore, presume, that copy may still be found among the manuscripts of the late Maj.-Gen. Ogg.

Another very curious Persian manuscript, which is missing in the catalogue, was a treatise on magic; the diagrams, and pictorial illustrations of which, were so extremely well executed, as to have rendered it, independently of the singular curiosity of the subject, an article of extraordinary rarity and value: so much so, indeed, in my estimation, as well as that of Maj. Ogg. who was a very competent judge, that I do not remember any thing of the kind, of which I was more desirous of obtaining possession. It probably fell into the hands of some one less scrupulous, and I regret it was not put up to sale on the spot.

We did not take any account of the remainder, or bulk, of this princely library. But I should conceive that it must have contained, altogether, from 3 to 4,000 volumes, or about ten times the number of our selection.

As it was something in illustration of character, I cannot forbear mentioning that one day, while Maj. Ogg and myself were turning over the leaves of these multifarious M.SS. one of the young princes, who had been permitted to look in upon us, was overheard, in rather an audible whisper, to observe to his attendants—"Only see how these hogs are allowed to contaminate my father's books."

But the most unpleasant portion of duty, which, as prize agents, we were called upon to discharge, was that which I am now about to describe. We had been repeatedly importuned with reports, from individuals supposed to have possessed some knowledge on the subject, that there was treasure to a

considerable amount, secreted in the zennaunah, or women's quarter, of the N.W. angle of the inner quadrangle of the palace. And we at last, but not without reluctance, attended to these importunities, and took the delicate course of exploring for this reported treasure, where it was supposed to be concealed. An order, was, accordingly, received for the purpose; and the women, to the number of several hundreds, being previously removed to the upper virandah of the inner quadrangle, we were permitted to enter the sacred precincts. But, whatever grounds might have existed for the information, or whatever the motives by which it was actuated, the search was in vain; for not a vestige of any thing that could have given rise to such reports, was discovered. We had, however, an opportunity of observing, that here, at least, the splendid scenes supposed to exist in the seraglio of an Eastern Prince, were perfectly imaginary; as all that came under inspection on this occasion, was certainly any thing but splendid.

As soon as the distribution approached its close, an operation to us of the utmost importance, became indispensibly necessary: that of stating our account with the captors, as to the disposal of their property. When we had, as we all thought, taken every precaution in the correctness of our entries, and proceeded to investigate the matter with all the care of which we were capable, what was our dismay, when we found that there appeared against us, the frightful balance of between 60 and 70,000 sultaunies; or from 25,000 to 30,000*l.** How this could have arisen, the most painful and reiterated examination failed to discover; although our books were submitted to some very skilful men of business, then on a visit at Seringaputtun. While we were thus reduced almost to despair, and utterly at a loss what course to pursue under such a difficulty, we were

* So in M.S.—30 to 35,000?—Ed.

engaged in searching, over and over again, for the error—for an error, only, we knew it must have been —it occurred to us to compare the *copy* of our registration of jewels with the original, in my hand writing; and to name the different items aloud. The original was held by an European clerk, a soldier of the Madras establishment, while the items in the copy, were called over, by another European. At last the man with the copy calling out an article as valued at 50,000 sultaunies, the other clerk suddenly desired him to stop; for what he stated at 50,000 was entered in the register as only 5,000! It would be almost needless to describe the agony of joy which we experienced, when this important discovery was announced. The painful anxiety under which we had been suffering, on this occasion, was entirely owing to the culpable, although the unintentional, negligence of the copying clerk; who had blindly added a cypher; which converted the 5,000, into 50,000. This alarming error so satisfactorily rectified, the remainder did not occasion any material difficulty; as the mistakes generally arose from similar proofs of negligence.

The rainy season proved much more moderate than we had been led to expect; and I gladly availed myself, in the intervals of our avocation, of frequent opportunities to ride across the Mysore antiquated bridge, to the district S. of the Cavery; although there was then but little inviting in the scene of naked desolation, which prevailed on every side. But of this, my only, recreation, I was destined to be early abridged. One morning, in the course of my ride towards Mysore, I had observed that my kandahaury faltered very often in his gait, and sometimes even stopped short; so much so, indeed, as to occasion some angry checks on my part, because I found it necessary to shorten my ride. I had, however, scarcely dismounted half an hour, after my return to the palace, when it was reported

to me, that, in spite of all the veterinary skill employed to relieve it, my poor little charger was at rest from all its labours. To me this was a loss beyond repair.

In other respects, during my stay of so many months, I can recollect only two occasions, on which we enjoyed ourselves in an excursion beyond the precincts of the island. One was to the vicinity of the new fort of Mysore, then building; where the prize agents were invited to an entertainment given by the young Rajah; whose elevation to the musnud was one of the first acts of the British Government. The entertainment was conducted by our old friend, Butcha Row; and included a handsome dinner, and a nautch in the evening. The other was, to pass the day at the pagoda, on Carrigat hill; which we found dedicated to Sri Ragonauht—familiarly Sri Rungoo—whence *Srirungooputtun;* the true designation of this ancient metropolis: as much as to say, Diospolis.

When the month of October was a good deal advanced, I entered on the necessary arrangements, preparatory to my departure for the Malabar coast; and as my security might, in a great measure, depend on the good offices, and favourable disposition, of my friend, the Rajah of Coorg, I made rather an expensive purchase, as a free-will offering, to precede my passage through his territory; as, by some stipulation, either tacit or expressed, no military escort was to enter. The present consisted of a gold rose-water vase and stand, beautifully enamelled; for which I gave the apparently extravagant sum of 180 sultaunies. This I forwarded by one of the Rajah's servants, then making purchases at Seringaputtun, for his master.

In putting up the gold and jewels belonging to my constituents, which I had in charge for conveyance to Malabar, I had the grievous mortification to discover, that a valuable allotment of jewels, the

share of one of the Lieut.-Cols. of the Bombay army, and consisting of a bulse of very beautiful emeralds, had been purloined from the great chest in the treasury, in which Maj. Forbes and myself had always deposited the shares, as we received them. Since, as far as I knew, no one had access to this chest but my Portuguese clerk, my suspicions very naturally rested upon him: more especially, when I found that he had been making considerable remittances of money to Bombay, for which he could not honestly account. I therefore gave him the option of putting in my possession, a promissory note to the amount of the loss, or to take the chance of a court-martial; to which, with every other camp follower, he was amenable. He, very prudently, chose the former alternative. But, to make short of a matter—by which I incurred much vexation and trouble, as well as very serious loss—when we returned to Bombay, he availed himself of the first opportunity of bringing an action against me, in the Recorder's court, for extorting from him a promissory note, while in *duresse*. At the trial which took place, judgment was, indeed, given in my favour; but the man suing in *formâ pauperis*, both his costs and my own fell upon myself: and as I was bound to make good the value of the allotment, to Lieut.-Col. Wiseman, amounting to the sum of 7,500 rupees; this, with the expences of the suit, made me minus more than 8,000 rupees; nearly equal to 1,000*l.* sterling: no trifling deduction from the profits of my agency.

After the animating and stirring scenes in which we have been recently engaged, the narrative must now become flat and comparatively uninteresting; and I shall therefore endeavour, as briefly as possible, to hasten to a conclusion.

My arrangements for departure, then, having been completed, and the property in my charge being of too valuable a description to be risked without; I applied to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, then

the Hon. Col. Wellesley, who had been all along in command of Seringaputtun, for an escort, to protect me as far as the boundary of the Coorg district. This I obtained without difficulty; the Colonel courteously observing, that he was glad of an opportunity of evincing, in any way, his desire to forward the interests of the Bombay army.

In the mean time, as much as possible to add to my measures of defence, I proposed to my 16 palanquin bearers, to arm them with spears for the journey. This, to my surprise, they all objected to; alledging that it would have exposed them to the certain risk of being put to death, in the event of our falling in with any of the marauders, who were already reported to be traversing the country for plunder. Finding it to have been an established rule of the caste, and that, at least, it would entitle them to the security of life and limb, I, of course, desisted from my plan.

Towards the conclusion of the month of October, 1799, I finally quitted *Srirungooputtun*, with my convoy of treasure and jewels, under the escort of a Jummadaur and 30 Madras sepoys. On the second day we reached, and halted for the night at, a dilapidated pagoda, a short distance to the E.-ward of Periaputtun. I must confess that I had not been without considerable apprehensions for myself, and the valuable property of which I was in charge, the nature of which was sufficiently notorious; for this was just about the period at which Doohndia Waug, in return, I suppose, for his escape from durance, through our conquest of the Mysorean capital, had commenced his predatory career; and I was, therefore, not a little rejoiced that so much of my journey had passed without molestation, either from that marauder, or the disorganized hordes, who had not yet submitted to the newly established authorities.

On the third day, I continued my journey to the

verge of the Coorga jungul; where, at the foot of the Seediseir pass, I met with an escort of the Rajah's people. Dismissing, therefore, my party of Madrassies, with a trifling present, in testimony of my approbation, I proceeded, under the safe-guard of my new friends, through that maze of wood-land, hill and dale, until late in the afternoon; when I halted for the night, at a place about midway between Seediseir hill and the Poodicherrum gauht. From hence I added to my former present, what I conceived would be highly gratifying to my friend the Rajah—a shaumiaunah, or evening canopy, which belonged to the late Sultaun. I had received a very pressing invitation to visit the Rajah at his principal residence; where, I doubt not but I should have been royally entertained, as others have since experienced: but I declined, in terms as civil as I could express myself, under the plea of very urgent business, which required my immediate presence in Malabar.

On the fourth morning, I found myself at the foot of the Poodicherrum, on the banks of the Stony river; where it became necessary, under some local stipulations of these neighbouring states, to dismiss my escort of friendly Coorgs. I was now left to the chances of my own destiny, and to continue my journey through a district, having on my left hand, what I knew to be covertly hostile. My bearers were just as anxious to get through as myself; and, accordingly, some time in the afternoon, we reached Corally, the spot on which, in our advance, the Bombay army first encamped, on breaking up from Cananore. At this latter place, on the following day, the fifth of my journey, I arrived without accident; and, with my valuable charge, in perfect security.

After giving my bearers a day or two of repose, I proceeded to Tillicherry; where I was most kindly received by Capt. (afterwards Maj.-Gen.) Richard

Cooke, then Pay-master at that station. My distribution of gold and jewels, which I had brought with me, was soon dispatched; and I had leisure to visit my friend Maj. Ward, who had so liberally and kindly aided in my equipment for the campaign, and who then commanded a provincial corps of Tiers, in the district of Cotiote; to the inhabitants of which, by his humane and temperate demeanor, he had rendered himself particularly acceptable.

Not long afterwards, the departure of one of the Government cruisers, commanded by Capt. Rae Taylor, of the Bombay marine, furnished the opportunity, which I sought, of returning to Bombay. My fellow passengers consisted of our Paymaster-general, Mr. Robert Taylor, and his Lady, and Miss Saville; together with my poor friend Capt. Mahoney, and Dr. Moir, one of the oldest members of our medical department. Our voyage proved a very pleasant and agreeable one. We touched at Goa, where we were, for one day, very hospitably and elegantly entertained, by Col. Sir William Clarke, who commanded, at Panjim, the detail of British troops sent to protect this beautiful settlement, against any attempt to take possession of it, on the part of, at that time, republican France.

Nothing of importance occurred in our voyage; and I arrived once more in safety at our mother Presidency, some time in the month of November, 1799.

Shortly after my return on this occasion, my friend Gen. Bowles, pressed upon me the appointment of his military secretary: he being then commanding officer of the Bombay army. And I accepted of it, more to please him, than to gratify myself. In addition to that of judge-advocate, I, accordingly, held this appointment, until he was superceded by the arrival of Maj.-Gen. Nicols of H. M's. service; who had been appointed Com.-in-Ch. by the paramount

authorities in England. I for some time occupied quarters in Barrack Row, in the rear of what was then the auditor-general's office; and immediately overlooking the sea line of works, leading from the castle to Fort George. And here I remained throughout the rainy season of 1800.

It was, during that season, while officiating as judge-advocate at a gen. co.-mart. that I had been sitting for 2 or 3 days opposite the President, Col. James Lloyd, of the 86th regt. when all of a sudden we recognized each other, as boyhood acquaintances, at the ancient Welsh town of Aberystwith, in the county of Cardigan. During the protracted period of nearly 20 years, which had now elapsed since I had quitted my native land, I had hitherto never once encountered any human being, with whom I had any previous intercourse, either as man or boy; and I certainly did feel on the occasion, an expansion of heart, that was rather overpowering. He was subsequently sent to the Red Sea, with part of the regiment; and from Suez, he undertook that perilous march, across the desart to join the Turkish Vizir, on the frontiers of Syria; which, after surmounting hardships of the most appalling description, he finally accomplished. And he is, I rejoice to say, still living (1835) to tell his war-like story.

I cannot bring to memory the period at which Gen. Bowles returned to England; but I well recollect that previous to that period, Sir Arthur Wellesley, by his most active and skilful campaign, against that arch marauder, Doohndia Waug, had laid the foundation of that splendid career of glory, which finally rendered him the most distinguished Captain of the age in which he lives. On the departure of my old friend for Europe, I removed to a country house, which I rented from a native Hindu merchant, about 3 miles on the Parel road, nearly opposite the artillery (and race) ground. And there I remained until within a few months of my departure from India.

Of the two succeeding years, 1801—2, not having preserved any notes, the occurrences have left but a very slight impression on my memory. During the latter year, I think it was, that the Persian Ambassador was killed, in an untoward affray between his people and the detachment of Bengal sepoys, who were doing the duty of his honorary guard.

One afternoon, between 4 and 5 o'clock, while quietly musing at home, I was not a little surprised by a sharp discharge of musketry in some premises to the rear of my house; and as it appeared to me to be some where in the direction of my friend, Capt. Moor's, I mounted my palanquin, and hastened to the spot. I found my friend had not returned from his office in the fort, and the family, of course, in a state of some alarm. The cause was still unknown, further than that there existed some unaccountable commotion at the Ambassador's, whose residence was immediately on the opposite side of the road. I was intently looking towards the road, when, on a sudden, I observed the Mehmandaur, Mr. Edward Strachey, of the Bengal civil service, hastily galloping down the road, and occasionally throwing his arm behind his neck, as if to ward off the stroke of a sabre; while one of the Ambassador's men, also on horse-back, was following close behind him, and calling out, at the pitch of his voice, "mata, mata! "he is killed!" —the Ambassador is killed!" Shortly afterwards, a detachment of Europeans marched up, and relieved the Bengalees, who had hitherto formed the guard. It subsequently appeared that, from some insult, real or imaginary, offered by the Kuzzul-bashies, or ordinary Persians, of the Ambassador's retinue, to the Bengal guard, of a caste always extremely tenacious of their honor, the sepoys, in a paroxysm of rage, took to their arms; and, without ceremony, commenced a fire of musketry upon the people in the house. The Ambassador, at this moment of alarm, came forward, exclaiming "Willah! Billah! Mazenn!"

—"By, and in the name of God, do not fire"—and received a musket-shot in the breast, and almost immediately expired. Whether the Persians fired in return, was not clearly understood; but I am disposed to think they did not, as none of the assailants appeared to have received any injury. But whether the affray was unpremeditated, or otherwise, it was as untimely as unfortunate. For considering at once, the sacred character, generally attached, even by Asiatics, to individuals thus accredited, and the embarrassment in which it might involve the British Government with that of Persia, it was generally felt as most sinistrous, that the Ambassador should thus have fallen a victim to the ebullition of uncontroulable vengeance. The sepoys, it was said, had been repeatedly treated with contemptuous insolence by these half-civilized barbarians; and their vengeance had broken out with such ungovernable violence, that Capt. Rutlege, of the Bengal army, who commanded them, could not have had time to restrain them before the mischief was done. A court of enquiry was immediately instituted, to investigate the circumstances of this unfortunate event: the proceedings being conducted by myself, with Col. Murray of H. M's 84th regt. (now Gen. Sir John Murray) as President.

At a period not long subsequent, the conduct of Capt. Rutlege was submitted to a gen. co.-mart. of which, by the express command of the Marquess of Wellesley, Capt. Leith, the judge-advocate gen. of the Madras army, superintended the proceedings. As far as I can recollect, Capt. Rutlege was ultimately acquitted of all serious misconduct.

But as this substitution seemed to carry an indirect reflection upon myself, which I was not conscious of deserving, I did not fail to appeal to my immediate superiors; and the only redress I found attainable was, an assurance, in reply, that no reflection could have been intended; but that the

Governor-general had availed himself of his power, to employ those of either establishment, who possessed his confidence: which I never doubted—and, in truth, I was not sorry to be relieved from the discussion altogether.

In the early part of 1803, I was dispatched into Gujerat, to hold a court martial upon an officer of artillery—Lieut. (afterwards Col.) Hessman; who was charged by my poor friend, Lieut. George Warden, of the same corps, with unsoldier-like behaviour in the battery, while breaching the N.W. tower of the fortified town of Brodrah. But as I have preserved a journal of my excursions on that occasion, as some relief to the exhausted powers of memory, I trust I may be permitted to introduce it in this place.

2nd Feb. 1803.—Having received my orders, and a warrant from Maj.-Gen. Nicols, our respectable Com-in-Ch. I embarked in the afternoon, on board the usual craft, a battela, in the harbour, for the purpose of proceeding to Cambay. About 4 o'clock we weighed anchor and stood out. I had on board a havaldaur's guard of 13 sepoys; and it occurred to me to enquire whether the party was furnished with ammunition, and found, to my surprise, that they had not, among the whole of them, a single cartridge. As I little relished the idea of committing myself into the very jaws of piracy, without the means of defence, I immediately bore up, and re-anchored about sun-set. I sent our boat on shore without delay, and about 10 at night, it returned with the requisite supply; when we weighed once more, and stood out of the harbour with the ebb tide.

3rd Feb.—At 8 in the morning, we were abreast of Versova, our excellent oyster depôt, in the island of Salsette; but being too great a distance off the shore, we lost the advantage of the land wind, which, at this season of the year, generally comes off about day-light. I must not omit to state, that I had for

my compagnon de voyage, on this occasion, my old camp associate, Capt. Lloyd, of our establishment; who was proceeding on leave of absence, also to Cambay. We served out to the sepoys 10 rounds of ammunition; and to guard against piratical surprise, loaded our muskets. The wind failing us at 11, we came to an anchor. At noon we weighed again, and stood in for Bassein. But the N.W.-er bore so strongly against us, that we were unable to gain the offing of that place. Thus baffled in our object, we stood off and on, with the intention, if possible, to obtain convenient anchorage in-shore, in order to secure the land breeze. Being, however, becalmed, we were constrained, about 10 at night, to drop our anchor, without obtaining that advantage.

4th Feb.—At 1 in the morning, at the approach of some strange boats, we were on the alert, and stationed the detachment. The strangers proved, however, to be two ordinary fishing boats. In the mean time, we were unmercifully teased by a troublesome swell, until about 3 o'clock, when the land breeze came off, but in a direction so much to the N.-ward, that we derived but little advantage from it. About 8 in the morning, Bassein bore N.E. by N. our course being N.W. close hauled, with every prospect of a tedious passage. At 3 in the afternoon, we stood in for shore; Arnaul, at the mouth, of the Agassy, bearing N. by E. A convoy from Surat, passed for Bombay, under the protection of 2 square rigged vessels. At 4 in the afternoon, we came to anchor off Arnaul, in order to repair a fracture in our main-sail. Again weighed, and stood off and on during the night. During that night also, I was for the greater part, harassed, by what for the last 8 or 9 years, I had not been visited with—a sharp attack of fever.

5th Feb.—At 8 in the morning, we found ourselves abreast of Kelma Mahem; the wind light and almost calm, our boat towing us a-head. In a little time,

however, the breeze freshened, and gave us a fair course to the N.-ward. At 2 in the afternoon, Seir-gaum, or Terrapour, bore N.E. when we went about and stood to sea, with an adverse course, S.W. The journal states, that my fellow voyager was in some danger of singeing his beard; because, in spite of my expostulations, he would persist in smoking a che-rout, or cigar, while seated by our only box of ammu-nition. Recollecting, however, that my friend set at least as high a value on his life, as I did upon mine, I let him alone, until reflection should bring him to himself. We had baffling winds during the night, and made but little progress.

Sunday, 6th Feb.—At 7 in the morning we were still nearly abreast of Terrapour. We put about at 11, making a course about N. At 3 in the afternoon, Danou bore due E. the breeze having become most favourable; so that by 6 o'clock we had brought St. John's point to bear N.E. by E. The breeze fresh-ened, and we shuffled round the point with the most hopeful prospects.

7th Feb.—During the early part of the forenoon, that which, in sailor language, we might call a spanking breeze, having created a turbulent swell in the sea, we were tumbled about while at anchor, with the most provoking violence. At last, when about 8 o'clock, we hove up our anchor, we found ourselves abreast of the Portuguese settlement of Damaun. The breeze continued fresh, but the tide, within the influence of which we were now arrived, was perceptibly strong in our favour. At 11 Pahr-nella hill bore N.E. and the breeze taking, unex-pectedly, a turn to the S.-ward, we were abreast of it, between 3 and 4 in the afternoon. At sun-set this remarkable hill was nearly 12 miles astern of us, bearing about S. by E. At 8 in the evening, the shipping in Surat roads were reported to be in sight; and about 10 o'clock that night we anchored off the bar of the Tapty. Our tindal, or ship-master,

immediately went on shore, as he stated, to procure a reinforcement to his crew; and above all, a pilot, for the remainder of the voyage to Cambay, to which there could be no hesitation in assenting. There existing here, a violent conflict between wind and tide, we experienced another uncontroulable tumbling of the vessel; which set all hope of sleep at defiance.

8th Feb.—A little before 8 in the morning, our worthy tindal, returned on board, without either pilot or reinforcement; and, to our no great comfort, most courageously in liquor. This, in effect, had filled him with such an excess of confidence in his own skill, that he boldly undertook, on the alleged experience of 2 or 3 former voyages, to bring our navigation to a successful issue. Against this proposal there appeared no alternative; and, relying upon his protestations, about 8 o'clock we, accordingly, weighed anchor, and made sail; the wind nearly at S.W. and our course about N.N.W. At 2 in the afternoon, Vaux's tomb, N. of the entrance of the Tapty, being then out of sight, we made the opposite coast of the gulph of Cambay; being the E.-ern side of the peninsula of Gujerat, bearing then about N.N.W. on our larboard bow.

At 3 in the afternoon the W.-ern shore of the gulph bore N.W. by W. and at 5 it began to blow with considerable violence, accompanied with rain; upon which we thought it prudent to take in our main-sail, and put up a storm jib. I must here do my fellow voyager, Capt. Lloyd, the justice to record, that in the midst of our difficulties, he exerted himself with exemplary zeal and activity; while our tindal and his crew became so subdued by their fears, that little could be expected from them. But fortunately for us, the squall was of short duration. Observing a pattamar boat at anchor, right a-head of us, and about midway across the gulph, I directed our tindal, at all hazards, to steer immediately for

her; and just at dark, in spite of shoal and sand bank, we were along side our sea mark; and had the consolation to discover, that she was about as well acquainted with the navigation of the gulph as we were ourselves. We now burned a couple of blue lights, in the hope of attracting some notice from the shore. But our signal remained unanswered; and as the best expedient, in a situation of considerable peril, we determined to anchor, and await the rising of the moon. At half-after 7, the silver light of our friendly planet, restored our confidence; and at 11 at night we ventured to weigh the anchor. But in about 3 hours, we dropped it again, on finding ourselves, by mistake, in the mouth of Jummoseir river, where we lay until day-light.

9th Feb.—At 7 in the morning we weighed anchor, and stood to the S.-ward, in order to clear the entrance into the river of Dahder. We came-to again at 11. The wind was at S.W. and in the same direction lay Goga bay. Again we weighed, and made sail; but at sun-set we were constrained to anchor, under a most awkwardly shelving bank. In this situation one of the lascars, or native seamen, came to request, on the part of the tindal, that we might not be alarmed, if, in the course of the night, we should find ourselves a-ground; and that he would pledge himself to land us safe at Cambay in the morning.

10th Feb.—Between 3 and 4 in the morning, after lying high and dry on her broadside, during the night, and not without apprehensions, on our part, that she might fill before she floated, our batella suddenly righted; and at 4 we weighed anchor once more, from Gangwa point, under which we had stranded: and, according to our tindal's pledge, we reached the mud-beleagued landing-place of Cambay, or rather of the mouldering ruins of that ancient city, at 8 the same morning. At 10 o'clock we

landed; and were most hospitably received by Robert Holford, Esq. the British resident.

On Saturday, 12th Feb.—I was induced to visit the ancient and spacious mosque in the town; at the S.-ern end of which is the tomb of Hadjy Abdurraihman Jelauny, Moolk-ul-tedjaur; prefect of the merchants. The tomb is of white marble; very neatly and elaborately sculptured with Arabic inscriptions—texts of the Koraun—in relief. A marble slab, or tablet, at the mouth of a cistern in the area, exhibited the year of the Hidjira 1030;—A.D. 1620—but the mosque itself must be of a date much anterior. I also availed myself of the opportunity to visit the subterranean Jayne temple, dedicated to Sree Parusnauht, or Boudduh; of which I had so often heard. On the pedestal of one of the images, the principal, I suppose, of those alleged incarnations of the Deity, or perhaps deified heroes, we are informed, that it was presented by a paurek, or serrauf, of the town of Gundahr, about A.D. 1600—for so it was explained by a Sourah, or Jayne priest, who attended.

The town of Cambay—or Kambait, as it is designated by native authority—once of considerable opulence, presented, at this period, a mass of miserable buildings, which were crumbling into ruins. It still acknowledged a Mahomedan governor, or nominal Navab, in Moumen Khaun; but in very reduced circumstances. In the lapse of a few years, unless visited by some better destiny, the place will have scarcely a vestige of its former respectability: even what now remains of it, being supported by a contract for supplying the company's government with ordinary piece goods, for the African market. I must not, however, omit to add, a much admired manufacture in cornelian and agate, which we sometimes hear mentioned, as Mocha stone.

The decay of this once respectable town, may, at the same time, in a great measure, be ascribed to the inconvenience of the landing place; owing to the receding of the waters of the gulph.

Sunday, 13th Feb.—After participating for several days, in the unreserved and spontaneous hospitality of Mr. Holford, at 5 in the morning, I left Cambay for Brodrah; my journey leading through a country, which exhibited a landscape of surpassing fertility and luxuriance. This I cannot, perhaps, better exemplify than by my observation, that the land seemed to give growth, at the same time, to the productions of a variety of climates; for I could occasionally perceive, in the same inclosure, wheat and barley, sugar and tobacco, and cotton, and culinary vegetables, of different descriptions. The surface being a dead flat, and not a hill within the horizon in any direction, the convexity of the earth was so obvious, that which ever way we turned our eyes, it would appear as if we were descending on an inclined plane.

In short, the human form itself, seemed to have attained a magnitude beyond the ordinary scale; and the same might be asserted, without exaggeration, of the quadrupeds, nourished on the soil. Witness the extraordinary sized bullocks, so much in request on the W.-ern side of India. The trees, also, appeared to partake of the same extraordinary vigour, in growth and verdure. The soil in general is composed of a black saponaceous loam; and I have frequently heard it affirmed, that in the driest seasons, if a cane be passed but a foot below the surface, we should find water.

As the district was, however, exposed to the predatory attacks of the Bheils, the supposed aborigines of the country, I considered it desirable to accomplish my journey by day-light, and in one day. My progress was, accordingly, about 3 kosse, or nearly 6 miles an hour; since I reached Bahdroun, a large

village, surrounded by a brick wall and towers, but in ruins, before 11 o'clock:—being a reputed distance of 15 kosse, or 30 miles, in 5½ hours. At 2 in the afternoon, I found myself at Oumeita, on the N. bank of the Mhye; or, as it is often designated, the Mehandry, or great river; being 6 kosse further on my journey. This was a Bheil fort, in good repair; with towers, and loop holes, commanding the ford of this noble river, the bed of which is about half a mile broad; although at this period of the season, the stream is not more than mid-thigh deep. The banks on both sides are intersected by deep ravines.

Having crossed at 2 o'clock, I left the S. bank of the Mhye, at half-past; and at 5, reached Brodrah; having accomplished a journey of 29½ computed kosse, or about 59 miles, in 11½ hours. On my subsequent return to Cambay, I accomplished the same journey in 10¼ hours—in both journeys, having had relays of bearers at the last 2 stages.

From my excellent friend, Col. Walker, the political resident at the Gaicowar's court, I experienced every proof of the kindest attention and regard; and it was to me an accommodation of the greatest comfort, that I was allowed to take up my abode under his hospitable wing; his bunglah, or temporary mansion, being situated among some ruined buildings, within musket-shot of the N.W. angle of the town wall, and nearly opposite the tower which had been recently breached. This compulsory measure, had been resorted to in order to dislodge the refractory Arabs, who had for a short time contrived to take possession of the government; but who, not long since, had been compelled to evacuate the place.

It was, in consequence of some circumstances which had occurred in the breaching battery on that occasion, that a charge was preferred by my young friend, George Warden, of the artillery, against Lieut. Hessman, of the same corps; and that I was dispatched on this journey; in order, as judge-advocate,

to conduct the investigation. The gen. court-martial assembled shortly afterwards, in the neighbouring cantonment, at that time commanded by Col. Woodington; and it was, of course, my duty to remain at Brodrah, until the sentence should be confirmed by the Com.-in-Ch. at Bombay.

16th Feb.—I now detected myself indulging in such gloomy speculations as the following:—It was, I argued, not beyond the bounds of probability, that I was yet destined to witness some turbulent scenes in the neighbourhood, that might terminate in events of no small importance. Intelligence had, in fact, just then been communicated from authority, that an army had been organized at Poonah, by Jeswunt Row Holkar, avowedly destined for Gujerat: that it had expressly received the designation of the Gaicowar's army; and that it had actually made a march of 50 kosse in the direction of Gujerat. All which, if true, must occasion no trifling agitation in the country; especially when there could not exist a doubt, that the disbanded Arabs, who were still prowling about the province, would contribute to swell the numbers of the invading force. Hence, there appeared a prospect, that the banks of the Mehandry, might become, once more, the scene of important events. Convinced, however, that we were on the verge of some troublesome change, I committed myself to the direction of that beneficent Providence, which had never yet forsaken me.

As my friend, Col. Walker, had assigned a marquee for my private accommodation, I had the honor of an occasional visit from his highness, the Gaicowar; and, certainly, I must confess, that his exterior, and remarks, bespoke neither activity nor intelligence. His interrogatories were made in all the simplicity of childhood; and I could not help considering him as the scion of an exhausted stock.

It was, therefore, not very surprising, that one morning, a few days afterwards, I missed my friend,

the Colonel; and found that, with a considerable part of the subsidiary force, he was gone in pursuit of, this simple Prince; who had been persuaded to elope with the Arabs still in his service, and join their countrymen, in the S.-ern part of the Province.

The promptitude of the pursuit, and the activity of the troops, however, soon effected the recovery of the truant; although not without some effusion of blood. It cost, indeed, the life of a very promising young officer, of the name of Wilkinson, whose destiny led him to volunteer his service, and who was killed in the short night action, which took place on the occasion. Col. Walker returned, with his ward, after an absence of a day or two only.

My friend, the Colonel, had intimated to me, when the affair of the court-martial should be at an end, that he had planned an excursion with me, to visit the ancient town of Champanier; the mountain fort of which was in sight, at the distance of about 12 miles, to the E.-ward, as also to the once celebrated capital of Ahmedabad. But to my great disappointment, both these excursions, from which I had promised myself not less instruction than amusement, were unavoidably laid aside, in consequence of the unquiet disposition thus unexpectedly manifested.

The months of March and April, those months in which, during the day, the scorching hot winds that prevail, would probably be fatal to European existence, were it not for the variety of contrivances—particularly that which leads them through the medium of water—were now gone by. Throughout the greater part of these months, the thermometer in my tent, in the day time, was seldom under 110° of Farenheit. The extraordinary coolness and serenity of the night, however, which usually followed, rendered us better able to sustain this ardent temperature. Nothing, indeed, could surpass the beauty of the blue and glorious expanse above us; bespangled, as it was, with innumerable brilliant stars, in an

uninterrupted horizon, of 30 or 40 miles: and never before could I recollect, that my attention had been so powerfully arrested by the sublimity of night. Towards the end of April, however, a soft S.-erly breeze, even in the day time, bespeaking the approach of the S.W. monsoon, brought healing upon its wings; and soon, to our abundant relief, sensibly mitigated the gloomy intensity of the burning atmosphere.

Of the fortified town of Brodrah, a very few words will suffice for the description. It is rather of a modern date, almost square, with streets crossing at right angles. The walls are of brick, with towers of excellent masonry at the angles. That at the N.W. angle, which had been breached in the recent contest with the Arabs, was at this period entirely rebuilt, and was, by admeasurement, of the height of 30 feet; doubtless, corresponding with that of the others. The neighbourhood, as far as we were then informed, presents nothing remarkable, either for curiosity or antiquity; unless we might except, as worthy of notice, some of those deep and spacious baouries, or arcaded wells, peculiar to this and some of the adjoining districts to the N.-ward, wherein may be found refreshing relief during the very hottest weather.

Previous to quitting India, I communicated to Governor Duncan, a short memoir which I had drawn up, on the subject of this place, and of the Gaicowar family; from limited, and imperfect, information, furnished on the spot, by some of the native writers, or clerks, in Col. Walker's employment. It was, however, too defective, I should think, to be of any importance: at all events, I never heard of it afterwards; neither have I preserved a vestige of it, in any shape.

Having received from Bombay, a confirmation by the Com.-in-Ch. of the sentence on Lieut. Hessman, (who, at a subsequent period, attained to distinguished rank, while his accuser, my poor friend Warden,

died a few years afterwards) I prepared to quit Brodrah: having, at the same time, received an order to proceed immediately to Surat, for the purpose of conducting another military investigation, about the end of April. Accordingly, I took my final leave of my excellent friend, Col. Walker. He was, at this period, assisted by Capt. James Rivett Carnac;* whose mild and conciliatory demeanor towards the natives, gave him, at a subsequent period, peculiar claims to succeed to the appointment of Resident. Among the Colonel's native assistants at the same period, was a respectable enlightened Brahmin; whose fate, some years afterwards, led to some eventful changes, in the state of India. This was the Shastry; whose assassination at Poonah, through the contrivance of the infamous Trimmukjee Dengliah, notoriously for his attachment to the British Government, led to the final subversion of the house of the Peshwas, who had, for so many years, possessed the supremacy over the Mahratta states.

As the intermediate districts were, to a certain degree, in a state of insubordination, a journey by land to Surat, might have exposed me to some inconvenient interruptions, I left Brodrah early in the morning; and, by precisely the same stages as formerly, retraced my steps to Cambay, which I reached the evening of the same day, in 10¼ hours. Supposing, therefore, my rate of travelling not to have been less, on an average, than 4 miles an hour, I should estimate the road distance between Brodrah and Cambay, at a medium between 42 and 49 miles.

I remained at Cambay, still under the hospitable roof of Mr. Holford, for some days, awaiting an opportunity of proceeding to Surat, by sea. At this period, our distinguished geographer, Col. (afterwards Maj.-Gen.) Reynolds, resided at a garden

* Now (1838) Sir J. R. C. Bart. M.P.—and Chairman of the Court of Directors.—Ed.

house in the neighbourhood, belonging to the Navab; where he was employed in delineating that elaborate and magnificent survey of the great Peninsula of India, which reflects such lasting credit on his memory: while it is a subject of regret to his friends, that on his return to his native country, he should have survived so short a time, to enjoy the advantages of his well-earned fame.

At the expiration of some few days, having engaged a pattamar boat, to convey me, and my followers, to Surat, I quitted Cambay for the last time, and proceeded down the gulph. The weather had already assumed a threatening appearance; and I became rather disquieted, when between Jummoseir and Broach, I beheld the gathering of the monsoon to the S.-ward; and recollected, at such a period of the season, the rather intricate navigation over Surat bar. My resolution was soon taken, for I had no council of war to consult; and I ventured to ask the tindal, if he would undertake to conduct his vessel into the Nerbuddah, and up that river to Broach; and my anxiety was not a little relieved, when he, without hesitation, replied in the affirmative. Accordingly, when we brought the entrance of the Nerbuddah under our lee, we steered boldly for the river, and passed the bar in perfect safety. Some time in the afternoon, having sailed up this noble river for about 12 miles, we anchored, abreast of the water-gate of the city of Broach. Without a moment's loss of time, I sent my Mahommedan servant on shore, to apologize to the Killadaur for our unavoidable intrusion; and to request that he would permit me to procure a guide for Surat, for which place it was my intention to depart, without delay.

After expressing something like dissatisfaction at our unauthorized appearance in the Nerbuddah, he however, consented to our departure; and as he might yet have discovered, upon second thoughts,

some pretext for my detention, I crossed immediately to the opposite, or S. bank of the river; and, having secured a guide, set off in the dusk of the evening, with all the alacrity of hope, for Surat. The next morning at day-light, I found myself close to the gate-way of the fortified house of Kihmketoudra—formerly well known as the resort of our shooting parties—at the distance of about 12 miles from Surat. By breakfast time, the same morning, I was again safe housed in the quarters of another kind friend, Capt. Harding, in Surat castle.

I am compelled to acknowledge, that I found circumstances greatly changed, in this once flourishing, and still populous, city. The lucrative and magnificent Chief-ship, had been for some time reduced; and the mansion, formerly the abode of elegant hospitality, had been converted, as I understood, into offices, for the dispatch of business. The Government was vested in Mr. Crow, an old and respectable civil servant, as chief magistrate; who resided in the Latty-house; formerly occupied by Mr. Green, and subsequently, when I was last at Surat, by Mr. Alexander Ramsay. In other respects, however, the place might, in some essentials, have undergone improvement. But the general appearance, among the native inhabitants at least, indicated dilapidation and decay. For this, however, it would not be difficult to account, when we recollect that it was no longer the emporium of W.-ern India; an advantage which had been gradually transferred to Bombay.

The general court-martial, which soon after assembled, to investigate a charge, preferred by Col. Anderson, against Lieut. David Prother, although of short duration, occasioned me more than ordinary labour, because I was myself obliged to write off the fair copy of the proceedings, every evening; my clerk having, by some failure or other, contrived to disappoint me. The result was, however, of very little importance. Lieut. Prother lived to be a Colonel

in the service, to hold a considerable command, and became, after all, a Companion of the Bath.

As the rainy season was now about to commence, I naturally became anxious to proceed over-land to Bombay, with as little delay as possible. At some hazard, therefore, I determined to be myself the bearer of the proceedings of this court-martial: for in the event of a revision, I should, most probably, have had the mortification of immediately trudging back again, into Gujerat. Having, accordingly, resolved, so far, to commit myself, I took leave of my kind friend Harding, of whose hospitality, I had most liberally partaken; and stretching myself out, once again, in my palanquin, set myself fearlessly off for Bombay.

Having, on a former occasion, given a pretty ample detail of the stages of this journey, it would be as tedious as unnecessary, to enter upon a recapitulation in this place. There occurred, however, such vexatious, and unaccountable interruptions, at some of the rivers, under the pretext of inspecting the passports, which I had received from the Mahratta Choutiah, or collector of the Chout,* at Surat, but in reality to extort money, that, at one river in particular, when they importuned me, rather rudely on the subject, I drew a pistol from under the cushion behind me, and told them I had no other passport. I had, perhaps, but little reason, at such a distance from all support, to expect any great forbearance; but they troubled me no more, until, as usual, at the frontier station of Bassein; where, for a short time, they delayed my departure, because I could not afford time to pay my respects to the Killadaur.

But, it may be asked, why I should be induced to utter these complaints, when I must have known that these vexatious impertinencies are peculiar to

* A tribute, of the fourth part of the revenue, imposed by the Mahrattas, wherever they had power to enforce it.—Ed.

the douaniers of every country. I can only answer, that by a few hours delay, I might have been caught in the very paroxysm of the monsoon; the hoarse murmurings of which were already in my ears. I was, however, permitted at last to enter the passage boat, and proceed to Gorabunder; from whence, without further interruption, I made the best of my way, through the beautiful vallies of Salsette, to the mother Presidency of Bombay.

At the particular desire of Governor Duncan, I drew up a short memorial of these vexatious delays; which was forwarded to Col. Close, (of the Madras army, afterwards, Maj.-Gen. Sir Barry Close, Bart.) the then Resident at the court of Poonah; but with what effect I was not informed. I had no other object, on my part, but, as far as lay with me, to protect those who came after me, from being exposed to similar impertinent delays.

The rainy season—June to September—of 1803, and the subsequent months, seem to have passed without the occurrence of any incident of sufficient weight to rest upon the memory. The whole period, between that and the monsoon of 1804, being indeed, generally occupied in that delightful interchange of hospitalities, where it is exercised with a cordiality, genuine, and unreserved, seldom equalled, and never surpassed, in any country I have ever known. The improvements that may subsequently have taken place in the island, must doubtless, have added to its embellishments; but the tranquil retirement, then to be found, in some of the recesses on the side of Malabar hill, could scarcely be formed into any shape, better calculated for social and rational enjoyment. Indeed the many hours of delightful society, then, and before, so often passed among them, still cling to the memory, with a fascination not easily obliterated. Neither can I forget the occasional visits, at this period, made to my kind-hearted

unsophisticated friend, Dr. Little, at Tannah—long since gone to his reward—to whose disinterested and humane attention, I had been, for so many years, deeply indebted.

25th June, 1804.—I attained at last, to the rank of Major in the service; an event which seriously drew my thoughts towards home. Had I, indeed, attended more carefully to the dictates of common reason, this was a measure which might have been with better discretion, postponed for years; for having scarcely laid the foundation of a fortune, there was an obvious and provoking absurdity, in thus casting the superstructure to the winds, never to be retrieved. But two of the most intimate of my living friends, Moor and Boden, having announced their intentions of returning to England, I felt an impulse to be of the party, that I could not resist.

30th Oct.—I accordingly, submitted an application to Government, soliciting permission to proceed to England, by some ship of the season; with the option of retiring eventually from the service, on the pay of my rank; and on the 2nd Nov. a general order appeared acceding to my request.*

My time was now occupied with little interruption, in preparing for this, to me, most important, if not momentous, change. But as there were to be expected several intervening months, between this and our departure for Europe, I suffered myself to be prevailed upon, by my ever kind friend, Maj. Moor, to become an inmate in his family, in the house which he then occupied in the fort, near the theatre; and usually assigned to the second in Council. Thither, in the early part of Dec. after breaking up my establishment, I accordingly removed; and here I remained, partaking of the kindest and most attentive hospitality, until the moment of our final departure.

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* The author modestly omits the high encomiums passed on him, in the Government orders of the day, on his approaching departure.—Ed.

During this interval, which was protracted beyond all expectation, nothing was omitted on the part of my unwearied host, and his excellent and amiable helpmate, that could contribute to my comfort, or amusement. We visited once more, under my friends auspices (that is at his expence) the great mythological excavations of Elephanta, or Gharipoury, and other places of the same description, but a different system, on the interesting island of Salsette. In these excursions, which I shall ever remember with delight, we were usually accompanied by Mr. Charles Ricketts, a distinguished civil servant of the Bengal establishment (afterwards in Council there) —who, with his lady and family, were also sojourners in my friend's hospitable mansion. Mr. Ricketts was an excellent draughtsman; and had time permitted, would have furnished us with some very good delineations of the innumerable and elaborate sculptures, still to be seen, in the wonderful pantheistic temple, first mentioned.

I had engaged for myself, a passage, in the Earl St. Vincent, an Indiaman of the second, or 800 ton, class, commanded by Capt. Samson, for the valuable consideration of 3,000 rupees, equal to about 350*l.* sterling; for which I was to be accommodated with a small cabin on the upper deck, taken off the starboard end of the cuddy, or dining cabin, just large enough to receive a large coffer bed place, table, chair, and washing apparatus. My friends Boden and Moor, had engaged a passage in the same ship.

At last, on Friday, 15th Feb. 1805,—about noon, we all descended, for the last time, the steps of the dock-head; and having taken a farewell survey of the massive and formidable works and harbour, of H.M.'s castle and island of Bombay, repaired on board the St. Vincent. We were accompanied by my unshaken friend, Dr. Little, and by another individual, whose uniform and disinterested kindness,

time can never efface from my recollection. I refer to Mr. Francis Warden,* whose subsequent elevation to the highest station in the service, has not, I am persuaded, driven from his mind the remembrance of his humble friend. Some of those who accompanied us, we were destined, never to meet again. Among these, were the amiable and accomplished lady, who subsequently became united to Mr. Warden; and my poor friend, Dr. Little, whom I never saw more.

My fellow passengers consisted of Col. Boden, Maj. and Mrs. Moor, and a son and daughter; Mrs. Henshaw and her daughter, with Messrs. William Simpson and Harvey of the civil service; and Lieuts. Kilshaw and Morriset, of H.M.'s service; and two sons of Dr. Sandwith, of Bombay.—We had also M. Reuillon, a French prisoner, late Capt. of a privateer, at the Captain's table; and 5 or 6 other French officers, who messed at the second, or officer's, table.

Honestly to acknowledge the truth, the expectation of soon revisiting my native land, however exhilerating it might have been thought at the moment, was not unaccompanied with regret, at quitting, for ever, this most interesting country, in which I had passed the bloom and vigor of life; and during my abode in which, among manifold discomforts, I had yet experienced many a day of unalloyed happiness and delight:—if any such there are to be found on earth. Neither shall I forbear to confess, that my prospects of the future were rather clouded, on recurring to the recommendation of an experienced, and much respected friend, in England; whose caution was, "not to think of returning to that country of mammon, without an ample supply of that most essential article—money." But, *nulla retrorsum* was now the feeling: and the number of well-known

* Then chief Secretary to Government—afterwards member of Council, at Bombay: now an E.I. Director.—ED.

friends by whom I was accompanied, had rendered the change of circumstances less violent, and abrupt; and I soon became reconciled to my destiny.

We weighed anchor with the ebbing tide; and left the noble harbour, astern, accompanied by the Walthamstow (of the same class as the St. Vincent) and Experiment; the latter an extra ship; and under convoy of H.M.'s ship Tremendous, commanded by Capt. Osborne. The pilot quitted us about 2 in the afternoon, clear of the harbour; as did also the Pitt, a fine new frigate, recently built at Bombay, which had accompanied us, for the purpose of ascertaining her speed.

Friday, 22nd Feb.—About 7 in the evening, we anchored in the roads of Tillicherry; and the next day our passengers separated, for the time, as guests to different friends on shore. For my part, having received a very kind invitation from Capt. Mahoney, who then resided at the former French settlement of Mahé, a few miles to the S.-ward, I landed at his quarters, down by the river side; where, in company with Col. (now Gen. Sir) John Murray of H.M.'s 84th, and Maj. (now Lieut. Gen. Sir) Jasper Nicols, (K.C.B.) I was most hospitably and liberally entertained, by our talented and accomplished host, until the moment of final departure—and we never met again.

Sunday, 3rd March.—Having again repaired on board the St. Vincent, we weighed anchor about 7 in the morning, by signal from the Pitt; which ship had arrived a day or two since, in order to take us in charge to the S.-ward. On Wednesday the 6th, at 7 in the evening, we anchored off Anjengo. On Friday, the 8th, the Chacer, armed gallivat, of the Bombay marine, came in, with our final despatches from Bombay. By this conveyance we received an addition to our list of passengers, in Messrs. Dowdeswell and Popham; the former for some years a practising barrister, and the latter a solicitor, in the Recorder's

court, at our Presidency. This latter was also a broher of Gen. Popham, of the Madras army, and, I think, of Admiral Sir Home Popham. We received also on board, some more children—a son of Col. Sir William Clarke, from Goa—who now enjoys his brave father's title—and a son of my old friend, Michael Kennedy, Town-Major of Bombay; and a daughter of Mr. Drummond, a civil servant, stationed at Anjengo.

In taking my leave of the beautiful province of Malabar, I shall probably be condemned as employing the language of an enthusiast, when I venture to pronounce, that in that narrow tract of land, extending from Billiapatam to Anjengo—no where wider, than 12 or 15 miles, between the sea and the great chain of W.-ern gauhts, there are to be found, such lovely scenes of rural beauty, and such richness in the productions of the soil, as cannot be surpassed in any country on earth. At the period of our departure, it was to all appearance in a state of tranquility. Its most valuable part, however, the district of Cotiote, had been reduced, in part, to a dreary solitude; and preparations were in progress to extend into Wynaud, the system of conflagration; not less destructive and aggravating, to the refractory, than injurious to the financial resources of Government. But for this there seemed no alternative; for having possession of the country, the vindication of our authority became an unavoidable result.

9th March.—About 5 in the afternoon, a little ordinary exertion enabled us to weigh anchor for our departure; when, with a light and unfavourable breeze, we stood to sea, and, for ever, bade adieu to the great Peninsula of India. The impression on my mind was still rather melancholy, under the idea that I was, probably, never more to revisit that clime, in which I had passed the best, and brightest, part of my life.

11th March.—About 1 in the morning, crossing the gulph of Manar, the boisterous gale, which here

usually blows from the opening between the S.-ern extremity of the Peninsula, and the island of Ceylon, took us nearly on the larboard beam; and continued throughout the day, and the night following. Next day, that is, on Tuesday the 12th, towards morning, the gale abated; having impelled us at the rate of 7 and 8 knots an hour, during the night. At noon, by observation, we were in 6°9' N. of the equator; about 11 miles to the N.-ward of Point de Galle.

14th March.—Land was in sight, at day-break, between Columbo and Pt. de Galle; and Adam's Peak was visible in the afternoon.

15th March.—About 9 in the morning, from the mast-head, three ships were discovered, as we supposed, in the road-stead of Pt. de Galle: two of them were observed getting under weigh, while the third remained at anchor. The former proved to be the Phæton and Concord, frigates. About 3 in the afternoon, by signal from Capt. Cockburn of the Phæton, we anchored in the roads of Pt. de Galle. Our anchorage in deep water, from a rolling swell, and strong current, proved very inconvenient.

Of Pt. de Galle I could only observe, with the bay to the S.-ward of the fort, that it bore a striking resemblance to Cananore; the shore, however, being far more rock-defended, and inhospitable in appearance; and the surf breaking with tremendous roar and violence upon the coast. Dundra Head bore from our anchorage E. distant about 15 miles; and Adam's Peak about N.N.E.

16th March.—We learnt from report, that the Belle Poulle and L'Aatalante, French frigates, were cruising for us, 2° S. of the line; and that the Concord was destined to protect us as far as 10° S.

Sunday, 17th March.—About sun-rise, a midshipman came on board, with orders from Capt. Cockburn, to heave short, in readiness for weighing anchor; and about 9 in the morning, when fortunately we had just completed our stock of water, we got under weigh;

and with the Concord, under easy sail, stood towards the Phæton, which was yet at anchor, awaiting, as it was said, the arrival of the Madras dhauk, with despatches from Adm. Rainier. At noon, the Phæton was under weigh, and in communication with the Pitt; which shortly afterwards stood to the N.-ward, with all her canvas set.

Following the movements of the Commodore, we stood for the land, during the afternoon; but about sun-set, we tacked, and made sail, in a S.S.E. direction; and as we did not alter our course during the night, it was now that we, for ever, bade adieu to that golden region, which has bestowed both wealth, and fame, on so many British subjects.

20th March.—Some time in the forenoon, a boat came on board from the Phæton, for our Madras letters; and announcing that our separation was about to take place. Accordingly, as we had been led to expect, at 4 in the afternoon, the Phæton, like some beautiful vision, suspended between sky and ocean, the latter of which she scarcely seemed to touch, with every stitch of canvas displayed, stood from us; and as a sudden squall came on at the moment, she seemed to vanish from our sight like an illusion of magic. Thus leaving us in 3° 9′ N.—to the protection of Heaven, and the Concord.

In justice to Capt. Cockburn, I did not consider it either superfluous or impertinent to remark, on the spot, that his conduct towards his convoy on this occasion, was such as to afford a convincing proof, that a disposition to accommodate, is not always incompatible with that activity, zeal, and courage, which he was known to possess; in a degree equal to any in his distinguished profession. I am not quite sure, but I believe these observations may refer to the present Adm. Sir George Cockburn.

27th March.—Between 7 and 8 in the morning, being about 18 miles S. of the equator, a signal from the Concord announced a strange ship, or ships, in

the W.S.W. quarter; and about 9 o'clock, our 4th officer, from the main top-sail yard, made out a single ship in that direction; which, from his report of her appearance, we generally concluded to be an enemy's cruiser; and in that case, very probably one of those, which we had been taught to expect, as on the look out for us, some where near our present latitude. About noon, our apprehensions were confirmed, by a further signal from the Concord, announcing that the stranger bore a suspicious appearance. An opinion was immediately started that there were two of them, close together, in consultation; which was, however, very soon discovered to have been no other than a phantom raised by our alarms. At noon our latitude was 0° 22′ S.—longitude 79° 28′ E.

The strange sail continued to be the subject of speculation, and she was in sight from the poop before sun-set. I ventured, however, to lay a wager with M. Reuillon, one of the French prisoners on board, that if the Belle Poulle and her consort, fell in with us, while the Concord was in company, they would not capture two of the convoy.

28th March.—The stranger was still in sight, from the tops, and a-head of the convoy; but she disappeared in the course of the forenoon.

Sunday, 7th April.—We were in about 6° S.—the weather dismal, and very squally. The Concord indicated her approaching departure, by a signal to prepare our letters for India.

12th April.—In lat. 9° S. and long. 84° E. we were at our extreme distance E. of Greenwich.

In the evening, the wind going round to S.E. preceded by a heavy squall, we were disposed to conclude that we were about to enter the S.E. trade.

13th April.—At 8 in the morning, in the supposed latitude of 10° S. for we had no observation the day preceding, the Concord made the expected signal for letters; and at 9, her boat came on board, and received our last dispatch, for India. At 10, the

frigate threw out the signal to proceed to our destination; immediately made sail to the N.-ward, and consigned us to the protection of Providence, and to the chapter of accidents.* By the Concord, I wrote to Col. Bailie, Mr. Francis Warden, and Col. Walker.

Sunday, 14th April.—A continuance of the breeze, from the favourable quarter, had encouraged the premature presumption, that we had actually entered the current of the S.E. trade; which we finally calculated would now swell our sails to the parallel of 27° S.—but on Monday, the 15th, the breeze, which had fed us the day before with such airy illusions, left us altogether, to reflect, in the morbid stillness of a calm, on the fallibility of all human speculations. It should, however, have been recollected, that this variableness is always to be counted upon, both prior to gaining, and after quitting, the full influence of the regular trade wind.

16th April.—Being in lat. 13° S. and long. 81.E. a S.E.-erly breeze gave new life to our hopes; and on the day following, these hopes terminated in the assurance that we had, at last, without delusion, dropped into the steady S.E. trade. But, as if some mortification were necessary to prevent our running into extravagant speculations, the dull sailing of the Walthamstow, one of our consorts, interfered to prevent us from deriving that advantage, from the favouring gale, which our hopes had led us to expect.

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* At this distance of time—1805 to 1838—the writer of this note can recal some of his feelings—of that sinking of heart—when this fine frigate left them—three almost helpless ships—"to Providence and the chapter of accidents:"—although in the boundless expanse of ocean, yet still in a narrow track of navigation, where enemies might be expected—and if met, might consign him, and a large family under his care, to all the inconveniences and miseries of unknown delay as to arrival in their own much desired country, and imprisonment in that of an enemy.—"Almost helpless ships" they might be called. For, although mounting many guns, and of sufficiently warlike exterior to demand a show of effort at defence, those within could not but see and feel how poor that defence must have been, against vigorous attack.—Ed.

Of this we had early proof; for by 5 in the afternoon, that ship had fallen so far a-stern, that we were under the necessity of taking in top-gallant sails, and reefing our main top-sail. And under this reduced display of canvas, we continued until mid-night.

19th April.—The lagging ship was well up in the morning, and we were going nearly before the wind, on a course S.W. by S.—Lat. by observation at noon, 18° S.—long. 77° E.

For several days the thermometer had not risen above 83° or 84°; nor fallen below 74°; an equability of temperature perfectly congenial with our present habits. Yet reflection might have taught us, that a residence of such duration in a climate foreign to our nature, required a more bracing degree of cold, to restore our relaxed and shattered nerves, to any thing of a healthful tone.

In the absence of other matter to awaken our apprehensions, it did not fail to occur to us, that we were then nearly, in the very track, pursued by the French ships in their way from the Mauritius, to the Bay of Bengal.

A few nights since, my attention was first attracted by those whitish nebulous appearances, observed in these latitudes, towards the S. by navigators denominated, Magellanic clouds. Like the via lactealis, we are told that they are clusters of stars, thus scattered in the remoter regions of interminable space.

Sunday, 21st April.—While ruminating on the circumstances of that tremendous hurricane, which on the same day of the week and month, in the year 1782, had held the old Essex, Indiaman, and all on board, on the very verge of destruction,* I was awakened from my reverie, by a report from the mast-head, of a strange sail in sight; and shortly afterwards the stranger was visible from the deck, standing to N.W. This was about 10 in the forenoon; when, it being determined to assume an air of

* See p. 56.—Ed.

confidence, we boldly bore down upon the stranger, in very gallant style, proudly displaying our British ensign. Having replied to our several private signals, by hoisting the star-bespangled flag of the American States, we fired, at noon, a shot to windward, when she immediately hove too. Our suspicions, however, were not entirely removed, until between about 2 o'clock, when she was boarded by a boat from the Walthamstow. Our consort hailed us shortly afterwards, stating that the stranger was an American, belonging to Boston, last from Teneriffe, and bound for Ceylon, with a cargo of wine. The only intelligence of a public nature which she communicated, was that England had declared war against Spain, on the 15th of the preceding December (1804).

22nd April.—Being in lat. 21° S.—and lon. 73° E. the breeze became, in nautical language, scant and variable, during the afternoon and night. And on Tuesday, the 23rd, in the early part of the day, we had slight showers, with a gentle breeze, which towards evening, freshened from the regular S.E.-erly quarter.

In this place, although the circumstance had long since forced itself in our attention, we could not forbear to regret, that the authorities at Bombay, should have been compelled, by state necessity, to delay the departure of the ships to so late a period; since it seems to be well known, that to cross the Equator, either N. or S. at the same time with the sun, was the sure course of getting into calms, and rainy and variable weather, precisely such as we now experienced; and such as would, probably, be the the cause of our detention to the E.-ward of the Cape of Good Hope, until the gloomy squalls, and boisterous weather of a S-ern winter, now fast approaching, should oppose to our progress round, those formidable obstacles experienced by the early navigatiors, in the vicinity of that tempestuous promontory.

25th April.—It came on to blow very fresh, bringing us under reefed top-sails; the fore-sail, and some of the stay-sails, remaining set. This was accompanied by a heavy sea, and we carried away our fore-top-sail sheet, which required considerable exertion to restore. The breeze continued fresh, with fair, and unclouded, weather throughout the day and night; urging us on our course at the rate of 8 knots an hour.

26th April.—The wind abated considerably during the night; impelling us, however, through the liquid azure, at the rate of 6 and 7 knots. Lat. at noon 25° S.—lon. 64° E.—thermometer 75°. During the last 24 hours, we had carried top-gallant sails; and the Experiment had even royals aloft. We had, moreover, on our log-board, 176 miles; the best day's work we were destined to register during the whole voyage.

The steady trade still continuing, our course was now due W. until noon of Monday, 29th April; when we luffed up to W. by N.—as well to close with a strange sail, which hove in sight, as to keep within the scope of the S.E. trade. The stranger disappeared about sun-set. The breeze continued moderate, with a tendency to shift round to the N.-ward; which secured to us, at all events, as yet, a smooth sea, with a progress of 5 and 6 knots an hour. On reference to a former remark, it will be seen that, being now in 27° S. we were prepared for losing the delightful S.E. trade.

1st May.—After having remarked last night on the uncommonly auspicious state of the weather, we could not forbear expressing some apprehension that it was too good to last; and this morning, as if we had been instinctively forewarned, we were destined to experience a melancholy change, with dark and dismal squalls, accompanied with rain. The wind, however, still adhered to N.E. for which, considering that in these latitudes, N.W. was the quarter

from which we had been led to expect it, we ought to have felt the deepest gratitude; but to the trade, for the present, we were to bid adieu. Our lat. by observation yesterday at noon, was 26° 49′ S. —and to-day it was 27° 34′; furnishing the inference, that we were within the sweep of a current, which had carried us 45 miles to the S.-ward, although the course steered during the last 24 hours, had been W. without any tendency to S.

3rd May.—Having retired to rest at night, with a mind perfectly at ease, from a contemplation of the beautiful serenity of the weather, with the exception of some distant flashes of lightning to the S.-ward, we were rather taken by surprise, about 3 in the morning; when the wind suddenly veering to the S.W. the weather burst upon us with a degree of violence, which was, at first, rather appalling. It commenced with a furious squall, ushered in with thunder, lightning and rain, to the no small discomposure of our drapery and rigging. Our canvas being, however, promptly reduced, and the ship brought under double-reefed top-sails, and the wind shifting round once more to the S.E.-ward, we were enabled to resume our proper course—W. by S.

Up to the 2nd of May, when we were in lat. 28° 10′ S.—and lon. 48° 54′ E. we had traversed an ocean distance equal to 3956 aquatic miles, since our departure from Pt. de Galle. But from this date, as any reference to the log-board seemed to be considered extra official, on the part of any non-mariner, my reckoning was discontinued; and my entries were, subsequently, confined chiefly to latitude and longitude.

Without further enlarging on the boisterous navigation, and tremenduous seas, incidental to the vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope, particularly, at such a season, I may proceed to remark, that on Monday, the 27th of May, we had attained our furthest S.-ern lat. 37° 40′; in lon. 23° 10′ E. The

current was supposed to have carried us upwards of 70 miles to the S.-ward of our course during the last 24 hours.

29th of May.—The morning being uncommonly serene, our jolly-boat was hoisted out, in order to try the direction of the current, but without success, owing to some defect in the apparatus, or perhaps, mismanagement. The method appeared extremely simple. The lead, or any other weight, is let down to a certain depth in the sea, which brings the boat's head round to the direction of the current, if any exists; and the log is hove, to ascertain the rate at which it is running. Our lat. at noon was 36° 49′ S. lon. 22° 10′ E.—from which it appeared that we had not made a mile either E. or W. during the last 24 hours.

The tranquil serenity of the day, delightful as it was, excited nevertheless, for the future, some unpleasant apprehensions: for whether real, or pretended, as a ruse to make us more careful in the expenditure, our stock of water was reported to be running short; and the ship's company were about to be put on short allowance, in that most necessary article. The Walthamstow made the signal of having struck soundings, at 130 fathoms, or 780 feet.

31st May.—We had put the ship about at midnight; and at 3 in the morning, the weather becoming squally, it was found expedient to take in our top-gallant sails and reef the fore and mizen-top sails. The squall, however, terminated in rain; in which state the morning broke, and so continued. About 8 o'clock, the Walthamstow made the signal for a strange sail in the N.E. nearly astern of us. We sounded and struck ground, at 110 fathoms, or 660 feet.

This day at noon, our lat. being 35° 10′ S. lon. 21° 19′ E. it was calculated, that Cape Lagullas, or the Cape of Needles, lay about N. by E. of us; at the distance of about 60 miles—therm. from 65° to 67°.

It appeared something extraordinary, that notwithstanding our very critical position, almost within reach of an enemy's port,* the vicinity of the stranger did not seem to excite either that interest or anxiety, which might have been expected, under such circumstances; and we could no otherwise account for it but in the supposed want of enterprize, on the part of our ancient allies, the Dutch. The inclemencies of a boisterous winter, might, however, be supposed to operate in our favour, by keeping the enemy in port, and contributed, in some degree, to keep our minds at ease. About 2 in the afternoon, as if to awaken us from our dream of security, a signal from the Walthamstow, announced the appearance of another strange sail, in the same quarter with the former. Only one of them could, however, be discovered by our officer from the mast-head, and she was standing the same course with ourselves.

1st June.—About 1 in the morning, a favourable N.E.-erly wind springing up, we were enabled to shape our course nearly N.W.; the strange ship was still in sight from our deck. And before noon, the second stranger was also visible from our mast-head. Both of these were now on our weather beam.

Our lat. this day was 35° 52′, lon. 20° 3′—consequently, we must have been about 12 miles to the W.-ward of the S.-ern extremity of the Cape of Good Hope.

About 3 in the afternoon, we made the further discovery of a snow, or two-masted vessel of some description or other, under our lee bow, standing to the E.-ward; and immediately the suspicion arose, that this latter intruder was in consort with our friends to windward. But about sunset, as the breeze was freshening up, she disappeared. It now became necessary to take a reef in our fore and mizen-topsails, and furl top-gallant-sails. Before 10 at night,

* The Cape of Good Hope was at this time in the hands of the Dutch.—Ed.

the breeze having increased to blowing fresh and hard, the main-top-sail was reefed; the main-sail and mizen-top-sail furled, and top-gallant yards struck; and thus we were prepared to meet the danger. It continued to blow hard until nearly day-light.

Sunday, 2nd June.—After a squally and rainy morning, the weather, to our agreeable surprise, suddenly cleared up, with a favourable breeze at N.N.E. The strange ships were no longer visible; and it was now conjectured, that they were the same that had formerly kept us on the alert, in the neighbourhood of the Equator.

Our lon. at noon was 18° 56′—and we were, therefore, then about 70 miles to the W.-ward of the Cape. The therm. was from 65° to 66°; a remarkable equability of temperature.

At 4 in the afternoon, the ship's course was changed to the N.E.-ward, which must have been directly for the African shore. The weather continued squally, but the night proved moderate.

3rd. June.—At day-break, we perceived that our consort, the Experiment, had availed herself of the obscurity of the night, to part company with us. At 7 in the morning, the ship's course was again changed to about N.N.W.—under close-reefed top-sails. At 10, it came to blow hard, when the fore and mizen-top-sails were furled, and top-gallant yards struck; and we considered that we were, at last, about to experience the wild fury of a gale of wind.

The skipper's countenance bespoke, indeed, an anxiety rather painful, as our poor ship pitched nearly bowsprit under, into the side of the tremendous mountain wave. For there sometimes seemed a chance, that in one of those fearful pitches, she might, at last, plunge head foremost into the abyss, never to rise again.

Notwithstanding appearances so unpromising, the weather unexpectedly cleared up, about 1 in the

afternoon; a change most welcome, after a forenoon of some disquietude, during which we dared expose to the gale, our main-top-sail only, together with the main and fore-stay-sails.

4th June.—The weather greatly moderated, and apparently clearing up. A sail in sight in the N.W. supposed to have been our stray consort. At noon, lat. 36° 28′ lon. 18° 57′. By double altitude it was discovered, that we were 40 miles to the S.-ward, and 1 mile to the E.-ward of our last observation on the 2nd instant.

The ship was put about at noon, and the weather becoming again squally, we lost sight of the strange sail. In the evening, about 7, a favourable breeze from the W. enabled us to maintain a good course to the N.-ward. The night also proved moderate.

5th June.—The weather continued moderate, with every appearance of being settled. The Walthamstow, now our only companion, made the signal of "a man over board;" being the second from the same ship during the voyage. Lat. 35° 24′ lon. 17° 37′ —therm. 64°, at noon.

The night passed in alternate calms and sudden squalls, and towards morning the squalls were attended with rain. I now began to think that I had been rather premature in supposing that the worst was passed. But it should have been borne in mind, that we had not yet brought, the promontory of the Cape, to bear between us, and the E.-ern ocean; and that we were still open to the vast expanse of waters which cover the S.-ern hemisphere.

From this date, to Sunday 9th June,—the same alternatives, of squally weather, hard gales, and moderate gleams, continued to diversify the monotonousness of the voyage, and to keep our minds from total stagnation. But on that day, about 3 in the morning, a summons to the pumps, excited an alarm which had, hitherto, been suffered to lie dormant—that of having sprung a leak. There was, however,

nothing very extraordinary in the case. For considering the almost continual pitching and straining, which our heavy-laden ship had sustained for more than a month past, the surprise should rather have been, that the good St.Vincent should not be unseamed, to a degree that might justly excite alarm. In the present instance, there existed nothing that should have occasioned apprehension; but when the mind is pre-disposed to unpleasant reflections, every trifle is perceived through a sickly medium.

10th June.—In the afternoon, the weather became perfectly serene, and the sea as smooth and unruffled as if we had been actually embayed in some harbour: the ship going 3 knots at the same time.

10th June.—About 2 in the morning, the wind began to freshen, and by 8, it encreased to "blowing hard." We were, however, still fortunate enough to maintain a N.-erly course.

12th June.—The weather became again moderate, and we again set our top-gallant sails. The Walthamstow was, however, considerably to leeward. Lat. at noon 31° 52' lon. 16°—therm. 59° the whole of the day; being the extreme point of its depression during the voyage; and we experienced accordingly a very sensible degree of cold, both to day and yesterday.

I had occasionally heard it stated, that after weathering the Cape from the E.-ward, the usual run to St. Helena was not more than 18 days; and yesterday, at noon, it appeared that we were about 93 miles to the N.-ward of the S.-ern extreme of Africa. I therefore undertook to bet my friend Maj. Moor, that we should be at St. Helena, on Sunday evening, 23rd June. The event will shew, that I was, as usual, too sanguine in my expectations. And it as strange as it is unfortunate, that years had not yet produced any abatement in that respect. Nevertheless, it was rather singular, that our stray consort, the Experiment, should have reached the island on that very day.

From this period to Monday, 17th June, we experienced weather so uniformly favourable, as to encourage our brightest hopes. But on that day the light and variable winds, which prevailed then and the day before, removed all probability, that we should be able to reach St. Helena in 6 days; that is, on Sunday the 23rd, as I had fondly promised myself. At the same time how thankful ought we to have been, that at a season of the year, the most inauspicious to voyagers in these latitudes, Providence should have blessed us, thus far, with a passage so uniformly prosperous. The only inconvenience, indeed, under, which we suffered—if suffering could be at all alluded to, where we had not, for a single day, been prevented from taking our regular meals at the cuddy table—was, doubtless, to be ascribed to the dull sailing of the Walthamstow.

18th June.—A breeze from the S.E. having sprung up at 7 last night, seemed by its continuance and steadiness this forenoon, to favour the impression that we had entered the Atlantic S.E. trade. At all events we were in the parallel of 26° S.—in which it is usually looked for.

At day-light this morning, my attention was rather forcibly arrested, by a repeated discharge of pistols on the poop, just above my head; and my first impression certainly was, that it might have been occasioned by a mutiny among the ship's company. But this was immediately removed, when I observed the 2nd officer pacing the quarter-deck with perfect composure. It proved a collision, to adjust the balance of a difference, occasioned by some blows, which had passed on the quarter-deck, some two months since. The affair terminated, for the present, at least, without damage to either of the parties.

21st June.—The wind continued steady at S.E. both to-day and yesterday; which gave strength to the hope that we had actually fallen in with the regular trade. Otherwise the report that we had

only 7 days' water on board, was calculated to produce some unpleasant speculations. Lat. at noon 21° 2'S. lon. 3° 13'E.—therm. 68° to 71°.

22nd June.—The breeze, which had died away during the night, freshened up again in the morning, impelling us at the rate of 5 miles an hour. A clouded atmosphere prevented observation; but our lon. by chronometer, was 32 miles E.

Sunday, 23rd June.—To our manifold disappointment, we were accommodated in the morning with a W.-erly wind, when we least looked for it; and this with the comfortable recollection, that we had but 6 butts, or as many days,' water in the hold. The reflection would have been, however, more alarming, but for the remembrance that with an E. wind, we had both St. Helena and the Island of Ascension, immediately under our lee. Lat. 18° 56' S. lon. 40 miles *West*:—we having now passed the meridian of Greenwich.

24th June.—The breeze was light and variable; sometimes, indeed, nearly stark calm; as if there were, in the elements a disposition to baffle the speculations of human vanity. To add to our vexation, we were compelled to lay-too, for the Walthamstow; which was again considerably a-stern. Lat. 18° 24' S. lon. 1° 18' W.—therm. 69° to 70°.

About noon, the E.-erly wind resumed its influence; but in the short space of an hour, it became again faint, and so continued for the night.

25th June.—The breeze freshened from the E.-ward, notwithstanding the long and heavy swell from the W.-ward, which might have led us to expect quite the reverse. The appearance of the morning promised, however, in many respects, a steady termination to our present anxieties, at St. Helena; provided, indeed, an enemy's squadron, or cruiser, did not interfere, to carry us in some other direction. It will by and by, be seen, that at this very time, the Bellona, a French privateer, of considerable force, was actually cruizing off the island.

26th June.—Our lat. at noon, was 16° 40′ S. lon. 3° 30′ W.—therm. 72° to 74°.

From the island of St. Helena, then, our distance this day was calculated at 140 miles. We hove-to for the Walthamstow. However, a run of 5 miles an hour may be expected to bring us in sight of the island by day-light in the morning.

27th June.—Accordingly, a little after day-light, in the morning, to our very great delight, the man at the mast-head, who happened to be a lascar, in a language not immediately understood, announced "land in sight, almost right a-head." For this I ejaculated humbly, and not ungratefully, I trust—"God be praised!"

The land was, immediately afterwards, clearly distinguishable from the ship's poop; furnishing another proof, if any were wanting, of the eminent nautical skill of the officers who navigate the ships of the E. I. Company; for although this island exhibits a mere point, on the bosom of the vast Atlantic, it was made to the fraction of a mile. We had seen no land since leaving Pt. de Galle, on Ceylon, the 17th of March, 102 days ago. The summit of a mountain, the base of which may be 1000 fathoms deep, it now stood before us, in gloom and solitary majesty, on the surface of the trackless ocean; at the distance of about 30 miles. Lat. 15° 55′ S.

About 1 in the afternoon, we hove-to, at the distance of about 4 miles, to windward; that is on the E.-ern side of the island, for the purpose of sending a boat on shore.

About 2 o'clock, as we drifted round to the N.-ward, we discovered at first, one ship at anchor, and shortly afterwards, we counted many more, to the number of twenty; and among them one with a red flag at the fore. We were, therefore, not much at a loss to conclude that we were about to join Vice-Adm. Rainier, in the Trident; with the home-ward bound collected fleet, from India and China. We

then made sail round the N.E. point of the island, and about 4 in the afternoon, came to anchor in the road-stead of St. Helena, opposite to the opening of James' valley: 102 days from the period of our departure from Point de Galle.

It now appeared that the Admiral, with the homeward bound fleet from Madras, had arrived on the 20th of the month: and the Experiment, our stray consort, on the 23rd; so nearly right was I in my speculation. Six home-ward bound China ships, with the Mediator frigate (formerly a Bombay country ship) had been detained here for a period of 13 weeks; in consequence of a dispatch from the court of Directors, announcing the departure from Rochfort, in the month of November, of the French admiral Villeneuve, with 6 sail of the line and a frigate; having a considerable land force on board; whose destination was yet unknown.

Not many days since, by the master and crew of a South sea whaler, who had been captured and sent in by the Bellona, French privateer, Maj. Paton, the governor of St. Helena, was apprized, that the Frenchman had been cruising off the island for some time past; and it did certainly seem an instance of singular good fortune, that the Experiment, at least as the penalty of her desertion, had not fallen into her hands. But, peradventure, with the support of the Walthamstow, had it been the lot of the St. Vincent to cross her path—although I cannot presume to say that we should have made prize of the Bellona—I am sanguine enough to think that we might have contrived to spoil her voyage; as the matter stood, it became an additional claim on our gratitude to Providence, which had otherwise disposed of us.

28th June.—About 10 in the morning, the Belle packet came in from Calcutta, which she had left in the beginning of April. A few days since she had

passed through the second home-ward bound division of China ships; under care of H. M. ship, the Atheniene; formerly belonging to the Knights of Malta.

29th June.—The report of several guns this morning at day-light, at the different posts of communication, announced the appearance of ships in the offing. These proved to be three Indiamen from Bengal. A small vessel employed to bring bullocks from the coast of Africa, a recent and useful speculation introduced by governor Paton, came in also, in the course of the day. Contrary to what we had been taught to expect, the Belle packet was suddenly permitted to proceed to England. On our arrival at St. Helena, I found a letter from my kind old friend, Gen. Bowles, containing a warm invitation to make his house my resting-place, when I should land in England. I was, therefore, considerably disappointed when I lost the opportunity of reply.

Sunday, 30th June.—A Danish East Indiaman came in and anchored in the morning; and about the same time, a signal was made for 13 large ships in the offing. They proved to be the Atheniene, with her important convoy from China, and all were safe at anchor by 3 in the afternoon; having left port on the 7th of February.

1st July.—A Portuguese ship, one of those we found at anchor on our arrival, under protection of the Admiral, having got under weigh on the 29th, a suspicion arose that she intended to steal a march on us; and as this might prove the means of conveying information of our strength and value, to the enemy, the Mediator anchored near, to watch her motions. Another ship belonging to the convoy from China came in, in the course of the day.

Ever since our arrival the therm. generally stood from 70° to 72°. Heavy clouds were continually passing over the island peaks; some of which are of considerable elevation: Diana's peak, in particular, is said to be 2600 feet above the level of the sea.

The violent gusts, which rush down the narrow vallies, occasionally accompanied by a drizzling rain, rendered the air altogether cool and refreshing; notwithstanding the indications of the thermometer. It would be scarcely necessary to observe that it was the winter season of the climate.

The delay and tediousness with which the shipping were, at this period, here supplied with water, particularly collected as they were in number so considerable, was an inconvenience, which very obviously required some better arrangement; as the detention of this most valuable and important convoy, very forcibly attested. It was not the scarcity of the article, that occasioned the evil, for that was in sufficient abundance; but the difficulty of communication with the landing-place. An inconvenience, which, by all accounts might, perhaps, have been easily remedied, without at all weakening the defences of the place.

A two-masted whaler, from the island of Desolation, came into the roads in the course of the day.

This evening produced, on shore, a second hostile collision; in which one of the principals was engaged with the second of the party, with whom he had stood the former conflict. He did not now escape with the same indemnity as before, as he had his arm broken by his adversary's shot. The nature of the dispute was best known to the parties concerned.

Sunday, 7th July.—I contrived to write to Col. Bailie, Francis Warden, and my poor friend, Archibald Little.

The Mediator, and one of the South sea whalers, about this afternoon, sailed for the island of Ascension.

Tuesday, 9th July.—At 8 in the morning, the Trident fired a gun, and threw out the signal for sailing, namely, "blue Peter" at the main-top-mast head; being a blue flag with a square white palet in the centre; as a caution to all concerned to repair on board, preliminary to the signal for final departure.

A strange ship appeared in the offing, in the course of the afternoon, which was squally, with rain.—Therm. at 74°.

10th July.—The strange ship proved to be a Swedish E.I.-man, from China. Having anchored too near the edge of the shelving road-stead, she drifted bodily to sea, with little chance of recovering the anchorage. Our passengers returned successively on board, in the course of the day. For my own part, being ever strongly averse to making myself a spectacle on crutches, particularly to strangers, I had declined going on shore; having arranged my messing with our chief officer, during our stay at St. Helena.

11th July.—At 10 in the forenoon, our magnificent convoy began successively to get under weigh. About noon, the Admiral's anchor was up; and the St. Vincent immediately followed, not without some apprehension of drifting on board the ships to leeward, that continued still at anchor.

A signal for two strange ships in the offing, was made before we had quitted the anchorage; and the Swede was still labouring to fetch the roads again.

In the course of the afternoon, the convoy wore and stood in for the valley, by signal from the Admiral; who ran close in, to hasten out the ships that unaccountably still remained at anchor. At sun-set, however, the compass signal was made, to steer N.N.W. when, after a detention of 13 days—far shorter, indeed, than we had expected—we bid a final adieu to St Helena.

To attempt a description of this secluded speck, on the bosom of the vast Atlantic, distant 1000 miles from the coast of Africa, and nearly double that distance from the continent of S. America, will appear rather extravagant; when it has been already acknowledged, that I never set foot on the island. Nevertheless, with the example before me of many an author, who never travelled beyond the confines of his own study, I may be permitted to preserve,

for my own satisfaction at least, some traces of those ideas which the first and last views of St. Helena, had impressed on my recollection.

It is nothing new to observe, that the contrast of an inhospitable and steril exterior, may often have contributed to render the interior, and hidden, beauties of this remote and solitary spot, more impressively striking to those, fatigued, to impatience, with the blank uniformity of a tedious voyage. This will readily account for the very lovely, and agreeable, colours, in which its miniature vallies, and Liliputian wood-lands, are delineated, by its numerous visitors, just liberated from the narrow confines of a ship's deck.

Approaching from the E.-ward, from which quarter, whether home-ward or out-ward bound, it is always necessary that it should be made; the island presents a rugged front, of crumbling precipices, of a dingy brown, rising abruptly from the sea; and on this side, the S.E. trade, blowing perennially in that direction, the ship is usually brought to, until the boat return, which has been dispatched for permission to proceed to the anchoring ground. We then make sail to the N.W.-ward, under Sugar-loaf hill, on the left hand; and, crossing the openings between the hills, successively fortified by Rupert's, Banks', and other batteries, until sweeping close to the Ponsborne rock, under Munden's bastion, the ship is brought to anchor, opposite to James' valley, the capital of the island; now full in view.

Munden's bastion is said to have been erected precisely on the spot, below which the assailants landed, from the ship's bowsprit, when the island was captured by the English, under the officer of that name. The hill which overlooks this bastion, although it now exhibited a front of frowning sterility, was, according to tradition, once covered with shrubs and underwood. The summit of the hill, which may be estimated from 400 to 500 feet, in

perpendicular height, was now covered with batteries, from which the guns, many of them mounted on depressing carriages, might be brought to bear, in any direction, upon an assailing force. Between this and Ladder hill, to the W.-ward, is James' valley, or "the Valley," as, by way of pre-eminence, it is called by the St. Helenarians: the town in its gorge, being the metropolis of our little island. Ladder hill, the estimated height of which is 600 feet, is ascended by a slanting road, up the side; and is fortified, on the brow, by a line of batteries, presenting a formidable array of ordnance, on depressing carriages, such as have been already mentioned; and calculated to strike any object on the sea, within 40 yards of the foot of the hill; as we had an opportunity of witnessing, while they were worked, for the inspection of Sir Arthur Wellesley, then here, on his return to Europe, after his victorious career in India. He was a passenger in the flag-ship.

Above, and within, the works on Ladder hill, at a considerable distance, and still more elevated, is High Knoll, a small circular fort, or tower, recently erected on this commanding spot, to serve as a rallying point; on which to retreat, either for defence, or capitulation, at the last extremity.

In different directions, as we gradually discovered on our departure from the roads, there were, moreover, a number of small towers, or block-houses, as they are here called, to defend the passes, accessible from the sea, and by which, the interior recesses of the island might, otherwise, be exposed to aggression.

Ladder hill and Munden's point, are strongly connected, by a line of works across the valley; which, level with the water's edge, sweep the whole front, towards the anchoring ground. In this line, if it could be accomplished without materially weakening the defences, a more expeditious channel of communication with the shipping would have been of

great importance; especially when the Cape of Good Hope may happen to be in possession of an enemy, as was the case at this period.

The island produces, in considerable abundance, several very necessary and salutary articles of refreshment, particularly potatoes; and what, as an anti-scorbutic, is of the first-rate utility after a long protracted voyage, a never-failing supply of water-cresses. Occasionally, but not always, may be obtained, a supply of butcher's meat. Apples, and even peaches, may also be sometimes obtained; but not, that we experienced, in any quantities. The scarcity in this respect might, however, have been occasioned by the unusual assemblage of shipping, to which our fleet had by this time accumulated. The pine-apple is also raised; but as in England, under glass: and many of the gardens furnish peas, beans, and artichokes. On the numerous hills may be gathered, in great abundance, bramble, or black, berries; which are mentioned as the common supply of the dessert table, and perhaps a substitute for mulberries, before the inhabitants had attained to their present state of refinement.

The English white oak has been naturalized here, for I should suppose it must have been originally exotic. It seldom grows higher, however, than 12 or 18 feet. To this may be added, the common fir, and in most parts of the island, the Indian hedge-aloe, in great luxuriance.

The sea affords a supply of fish, in considerable abundance; but in no very great variety. Mackerel, the most plentiful, is of a bastard sort; as what we procured on board, was by no means of a very captivating flavour, even to those who had been so many months at sea. There is also the soldier fish; so called from its scarlet tints. But the most palatable that fell to the share of the journalist, was that, which, whimsically enough, they call old wife.

In short, the picture given of these vallies in miniature, the interior recesses of the island, their lawns, planted and intersected with hedges of myrtle and roses, and irrigated by numberless murmuring rills, was to the highest degree inviting; at all events to those just escaped from the confinement of a protracted voyage.

The hospitality of the inhabitants, mercenary, and interested, as it has sometimes been considered, is, nevertheless, of the utmost convenience to passengers from India. In one respect, however, as has frequently been experienced by many a love-sick swain, the island possesses an attraction scarcely to be surpassed in any quarter of the globe. Among its native-born women, have been found many that would have added grace to the circle of any society on earth.

It will, at least, be acknowledged, that, situated as it is, on its interior acclivities, with neat looking secluded villas, and plantations gradually rising to view, St. Helena exhibits a landscape as pleasing as it is picturesque; independently of what may be derived from that expansion of heart, which naturally accompanied the gratifying reflection, that in our departure W.-ward, we were about to re-visit the land of our fathers.

I cannot dismiss the subject without mentioning, that a very accurate and entertaining delineation of the island scenery, is to be found in a series of views, published in 1815; and inscribed to his Grace of Wellington, by Mr. George Hutchins Bellasis; son of the late Gen. Bellasis, of the Bombay artillery, and grandson of the historian of Dorsetshire.

Friday, 12th July.—In the morning, we perceived that the Swedish ship had joined the convoy; making now, altogether, exclusively of the-men-of-war,

38 ships, large and small; of which 16 were of the largest class of Indiamen, of the burthen of 1200 tons each.

During the day, the whole were endeavouring to gain their stations in the order of sailing, namely, in 4 columns, with the Admiral, and the Winchelsea (a crack China ship) to repeat, on the right flank. The Atheniene, and Sovereign, extra ship, to repeat on the left flank. The Glatton Indiaman to lead, and the Mediator to bring up the rear. The station of the St. Vincent was the 7th in order of the 2nd column from the right.

We left at St. Helena, the Warren Hastings, Phœnix and Calcutta, E.I.-amen, with Kron Prinsder—a Dane—formerly the Kent Indiaman—the Portuguese ship, and the Georgiana, packet. Our lat. at noon, was 14°57′ S.—lon. 6°57′ W.—therm. 72° to 73°.

In the afternoon, the Winchelsea hailed us, with a request from the Admiral that, on application from the Swede, we should give him such a supply of water as we could spare. A request which appeared to have been circulated throughout the fleet.

13th July.—We found in the morning, to our great mortification, that we were nearly the sternmost ship of the convoy. At 8 o'clock by signal from the Admiral, the Walthamstow was taken in tow by the True Briton. The ships had not yet all gained their stations, in the order of sailing. The S.E. trade freshened during the day.

Sunday, 14th July—Although the sky was overcast, the trade was fine, and the sailing delightful. Our superb and valuable convoy, was now nearly arranged in the sailing order. Lat.—always at noon —12° 38′ S.—lon. 8° 36′ W.—therm. 72° to 73°.

15th July.—The fresh trade continued, with a fall of rain early in the morning. Lat. 10° 17′—therm. 74°

16th July.—The trade as yesterday—Lat. 8° 41′ —lon. 12° 49′—therm. 76° to 79°.

17th July.—About 1 in the morning, 4 guns from the Winchelsea, which had made sail a-head, announced our approach to the island, of Ascension—bearing N.W. by W.

The grandeur and beauty of the spectacle, which the forenoon exhibited, was scarcely to be surpassed in any climate; in the contrast of the sterility on shore, and the splendid array of shipping, carrying a press of sail, under the looming of the island.

At 11, the Admiral hove to, displaying his colours, when we perceived the Mediator making sail from the anchoring ground. The whole of the fleet now commenced hoisting out their boats, to contribute their supply of water, to the Swedish ship; heaving to in succession, for that purpose. By 2 in the afternoon, this service of benevolence was completed; when the whole made sail again, and proceeded on their home-ward voyage. We had, however, been disappointed of our supply of turtle, this being the season in which the animals deposit their eggs. Lat. 7° 54′—lon. 14° 24′—therm. 77° to 79°.

The appearance of that abode of desolation, which we had just left, at first view, in approaching from the S.E. presented but a very cheerless prospect. There was not a shrub, nor a tuft of grass; not a symptom of vegetation of any shape, to relieve the parched and dreary uniformity, which prevailed on every side.

High and bluff to the S.E. it subsides into several diminutive peaks, and ultimately into a low point, about N.W.—the whole exhibiting an exterior of crumbling rubbish, of what I should call, a whitey-brown.

When, however, we pursued our voyage to N.N.W. the land assumed an altered appearance; as it then presented a variety of peaked hillocks, volcanic perhaps, of unequal altitude, and of a redish colour, with the same crumbling surface above described.

The anchoring ground, as far as I could distinguish, is situated between the N.W. point, already noticed, and one which lay still more to the W.-ward opposite a small sandy beach, observable in that direction; the whole island appearing to extend from S.E. to N.W. about a league, or league and a half, in length. At sun-set it was still in sight, about 30 miles a-stern.

18th July.—The S.E. trade fresh and steady, and the same delightful sailing continued. Lat. 6° 35′—lon. 15° 54′—therm. 78° to 80°.

19th July.—The same delightful weather, with those moving pictures before the eye, which, however monotonous and uniform, never produce fatigue—referring now, to those majestic fabrics, the consummation of human skill; which, as if instinct with life and emotions of speed, were pressing forward on every side, to the termination of our voyage.

The unfortunate Walthamstow, which had again fallen a-stern, was taken in tow by the Arniston, one of the large ships of the larboard division. Lat. 5° 18′—lon. 17° 20′—therm. 80°.

It now became a question, whether by pursuing a course so far N.-erly, instead of keeping more to the W.-ward, we might not bring ourselves into the region of calms and rain, within range of the coast of Africa—being by yesterday's reckoning, 13 miles within—that is, to the E.-ward of—the meridian of Cape Verde. The opinion of the captains of Indiamen is universally, for the course to the W.-ward; it being the result of later experience, that it is most desirable to cross the Equator, between the 20th° and 24th° of W. lon. But, of several reasons, which may have prevailed with the Admiral to adopt a course so adverse to the general opinion, two have been urged, more particularly, in justification:—first, that by pursuing a direct course in opposition to settled practice, there was a greater probability of

eluding the enemy's squadrons, known to be at sea; and secondly, the expectation of deriving full advantage from the N.E. trade, when it should be our lot to fall in with it; if, fortunately, we might escape the calms in the vicinity of the line.

20th July.—The Arniston, and her burthensome charge, the Walthamstow, were well advanced this morning, which, contrary to some unfavourable prognostications, from the changeable appearance of the weather, and a heavy and clouded atmosphere, brought us a continuance of the auspicious S.E.-er. Lat. 3° 59'—lon. 18° 34'—therm. 79°.

Sunday, 21st July—During the night the wind had headed us, apparently settling to the N.-ward of E. which we concluded to indicate our arrival at the N.-ernmost limit of the S.E. trade. Some of the convoy were greatly a-stern; and the Walthamstow continued in charge of the Arniston.

The ordinary current, which is said to be here invariable, and yet unaccounted for, set us to the W.-ward in spite of our teeth. Lat. 2° 17'—lon. 19° 34'—therm. 77° to 79°. The Ocean, another of the dull sailers, had been taken in tow, this forenoon, by the Alnwick Castle.

22nd July.—The wind became light and variable, approaching to a calm. The ships in tow, were, however, well up with the convoy. (This, as will be seen hereafter, was the very day of Sir Robert Calder's action with the combined squadrons of France and Spain.) Lat. 1° 17' S.—lon 20° W.—therm. 77°. The wind had returned to the S.E.

23rd July.—We made sail for the leading ships, for the purpose of setting up our rigging. The breeze was freshening; but the Walthamstow was still in tow, while the Ocean, having been conducted to her station, was cast off at 2 in the afternoon. Lat. 16 miles S.—lon. 20° 26'—therm. 78° to 80°.

It would hence appear, after all, that we were crossing the Equator nearly at the point considered most desirable by the ablest and most experienced

navigators. In fact, we were supposed to have crossed the line to the N.-ern hemisphere, about 6 o'clock this afternoon.

24th July.—About 2 in the morning, we had a fall of rain, with a freshening breeze, which swept us along at the rate of 6 knots: our course due N.—More rain in the course of the forenoon. Lat. 1° 24′ N.—lon. 21° 5′ W.—therm. 77° to 79°.

In the course of the evening, we shortened sail for the Admiral, who had dropped a-stern to communicate with an American schooner, which hove in sight between 2 and 3 in the afternoon. The telegraph signal announced that the stranger had furnished no intelligence.

25th July.—The auspicious breeze continued to befriend us. About 10 in the forenoon, the Atheniene made sail across the convoy in chase of a strange vessel to windward; and at noon the chace hove to under Portuguese colors. Lat. 3° 54′ N.—lon. 22° 30′ W.—therm. 79°.

Between 2 and 3 in the afternoon, after dismissing the stranger nearly out of sight a-stern, the Atheniene, under a cloud of canvas, pressed to overtake the convoy, which she had accomplished at night fall.

26th July.—The atmosphere was this day heavily over-charged, with every appearance of approaching rain. The Winchelsea was making the tour of the starboard division, as we supposed to circulate the information received from the Portuguese ship. The Sovereign, was similarly employed with the larboard division. No observation.—Therm. 80°. Between 10 and 11 in the forenoon, the rain came on, and continued without intermission until mid-night. On this occasion, for the first time during the voyage, we enjoyed the opportunity of contemplating with admiration, that phenomenon, sometimes exhibited on the expanse of the ocean, which is said to be occasioned by the agitation of some oleaginous or phosphorescent matter; or, as seems yet more probable, of innumerable spawn, rendered more luminous by

the access of rain water. But, from whatever cause derived, the ship appeared to be imbedded in liquid gold; and the sea, contrasted with the ebon canopy above, displayed a surface streaked with fire, to the utmost extent of the horizon, wherever the surges broke in foam.

The flag-ship fired a gun at intervals during the night, to indicate its position to the convoy.

27th July.—The weather having cleared up, became nearly calm in the forenoon. But, in this state we had scarcely continued an hour, when a fine breeze sprung up from S.E. which accompanied us during the remainder of the day, and ensuing night. Lat. 7° 40′—lon. 22° 50′—therm. 79°. We had not been fortunate enough, however anxious, to learn any part of the intelligence obtained from the Portuguese.

Sunday, 28th July.—The weather cloudy and unsettled, threatening rain.

It is here not unseasonable to remark, that the S.E. trade, which had accompanied us, with very little variation, from about 17° S. did not entirely fail us until this day; when supposed to be, for we had no observation, in lat. 9° N. So far, giving confirmation to the ingenious theory of Col. Capper; which ascribes the greater prevalence of the trade, whether N. or S. of the line, just as the presence of the sun is, more or less, in one hemisphere or the other.

Thus, in the present instance, the sun being in the N.-ern part of his course, occasioned such a rarefaction of the air, as to produce a current, or rush, to fill the vacuum, from the opposite hemisphere, where the air had been obviously condensed, from the obliquity of the sun's rays, as we had actually experienced. For, by the same reasoning, it must follow, that when the sun is said to be in a corresponding parallel to the S.-ward, the N.E. trade (other circumstances being similar) will prevail, to an equal

extent on that side the Equator, as we had found the S.E. to do, to the N.—that is, to about 9° S.

About 9 in the morning, a strange sail was announced on our weather bow. At 11 o'clock she hove to, to leeward of the convoy, for the Mediator, which bore down, to speak to her. She proved to be an American: and before noon, was allowed to proceed on her voyage. No observation. Therm. 80°.

The forenoon had proved squally, without much rain; but at night there was a heavy fall of rain for some hours.

29th July.—In the early part of the day it was almost stark calm, where, however, it was most natural to expect it; peradventure, better in our present position, than a month afterwards, in the very jaws of hostile squadrons. The calm gave way in the course of the forenoon, to a tantalizing and unsteady breeze, which but little availed us.

A seaman died in the course of last night, being our third casualty during the voyage. Lat. 10° 20′—lon. 22° 22′.—therm. 78° to 80°.

About noon, by signal from the flag-ship, the convoy altered its course to N.W. by W. in order, most probably, to keep wide of the islands of Cape Verde.

We hailed the Asia about sun-set; and from her we learned, that the only piece of information communicated by the Portuguese, was that Villeneve, with the Rochfort squadron, had reached the West Indies; so far unscathed by Nelson's thunder.

30th July.—The weather nearly as yesterday, with, however, an increase of rain. Lat. 11° 27′—lon. 22° 45′.—therm. 78°. About noon, the weather cleared up; and the Admiral made the signal to tack.

During the calm which prevailed in the afternoon, a boat came on board from one of our consorts, and brought us the information that the Rochfort squadron, the subject of so much conjecture and anxiety,

had returned to Brest without molestation, after having captured the island of Dominica. It was rather amusing to observe our French prisoners shrugging up their shoulders, whenever they heard it mentioned, that Nelson was in pursuit.

31st July.—We continued still languishing in the region of calms and variable winds. Lat. 11° 45′—lon. 23° 30′—therm. 80°. Weather clearing up—wind W.-erly.

1st August.—The morning was foggy, with rain. A little after day-break, an American was brought to by the leading ships, and dispatched to communicate with the Admiral. Lat. 12° 20′—lon. 24° 11′—therm. 79°.

The weather continued over-charged and hazy; with slight rain. But a N. E.-erly breeze encouraged the hope that we touched the confines of the N.E. trade. At that moment, however, the ships' heads lay in twenty different directions.

2nd Aug.—The breeze adhering to N.E. continued to cherish the hope that we were about to enter the true trade; and the weather, moreover, clearing up, the expectations thus awakened, seemed, to all appearance, about to be realized, although as yet in rather a faint degree. Lat. 12° 45′—lon. 24° 23′. —therm. 80°.

This day, at noon, our position was calculated to have been 135 miles S. by W. of the S.-ern extreme of the Cape de Verde Islands.

3rd Aug.—Early in the morning the breeze forsook us, and it became once more calm. By noon, however, it sprung up again in our favour. Lat. 13° 26′—lon. 25° 20′—therm. 80° to 82°.

In the afternoon, while the Arniston was communicating with us by boat, and detailing the intelligence received from the American, a signal from the Admiral demanded the attention of the convoy to the order of sailing; which, from the variability of the winds, had recently become much deranged.

This was translated by our hopes into an indication that we had gained the settled trade.

Sunday, 4th Aug.—We were, in the morning, nevertheless, again becalmed; and the convoy continued, unavoidably, much dispersed. Lat. 13° 30′ N.—lon. 26° 7′ W.—therm. 81°.

The information communicated yesterday went to state, that Lord Nelson had returned from his chace to the West Indies, without intercepting the hazardous expedition, and winged retreat, of the Rochfort squadron; and conjecture was busy at work, to account for the perilous and hasty adventure, consigned to the discretion of Villeneuve: for even the French prisoners on board, acknowledged the terror of Nelson's name; which must have weighed heavily on the hearts of the enemy, during the voyage. At a subsequent period it was, however, sufficiently ascertained, that these distant expeditions belonged to that system, which had in view the dispersion of the British naval force, to remote quarters; in order to leave a safe and adequate opening to the invasion of England, in the absence of her most formidable arm of defence.

The information came, however, from sources so questionable—Antwerp and Santa Cruz—both in possession of the enemy, that without some further confirmation, we withheld implicit credit; particularly as coming through the channel of an American trader: a class of gentry, then notorious for cramming English navigators with fictitious news. The calm continued throughout the day, and the greater part of the night following.

5th Aug.—The little wind which stirred was still S.W.-erly, and scarcely sufficient to ruffle the mirror surface of the ocean.

A boat came on board from the Lady Burgess, with orders from the Admiral to keep our lights concealed during the night. This order seemed to indicate the suspicion of something hostile at hand. It

was, at all events, a prudent precaution. The day proved, as indicated by the thermometer, oppressively warm; and the calm continued during the greater part of the night. Lat. 13° 58′—lon. 26° 25′—therm. 81° to 83°.

6th Aug.—A breeze sprung up in the morning from the S.-ward; which, by noon, veered round and settled to the E.-ward of N. affording a strong and flattering presumption, that we had at last entered the current of the N.E. trade. Lat. 14° 2′—lon. 26° 34′—that is to say, since yesterday noon, we had made 4 miles of N.-ing, and 9 miles of W.-ing—therm. 83°.

The dense clouds to N.E. with some fleeting showers, seemed to indicate that the islands of Cape de Verde, were at no great distance from us in that direction. The Walthamstow and Ocean had been again in tow, for the last two days.

7th Aug.—The breeze, which became fresh and squally during the night, appeared permanent and steady in the morning. Lat. 14° 30′—lon. 28° 27′—therm. 80°. Thus we had made 28 miles of N.-ing, and 53 of W.-ing, since last noon.

8th Aug.—We shortened sail in the morning, for the Admiral, who had fallen a-stern during the night. The appearance of the weather was still squally: a circumstance, however, said to be not unusual in the N.E. trade. Nevertheless, cloudy and rainy as the morning proved, it cleared up before the meridian sun, and gave us an observation. Lat. 15° 21′—lon. 30° 6′—therm. 79°.

9th Aug.—We had gained the strong and decided trade; our course, N. by W. since yesterday. The Ocean still in tow. Lat. 17° 26′—lon. 31° 21′—therm. 80°.

10th Aug.—The settled trade continued. A signal from the flag-ship, indicated that the Cirencester should take the stern-most of the convoy in tow: also, that the fleet should steer due N.

The Cirencester and Alnwick Castle were ordered into the Admiral's wake, both having declined to take the Fame in tow.

Sunday, 11th Aug.—The steady trade continued. The Atheniene made sail a-head; as was supposed, to lead the fleet, instead of the Glatton, which had become one of the refractory. But as the Atheniene shortly afterwards stood across the convoy, and passed under the stern of the Admiral, her manœuvere must have had some other object; and yet, as she then ranged along-side the two ships, yesterday ordered to the rear, it was evident that inquiry was going forward, as to this act of insubordination. At all events, it occasioned the detention of the convoy for the greater part of the day.

12th Aug.—The trade continued fresh and steady. Lat. 23° 8'—lon. 34° 55'—therm. 78°. We were now reduced to the mortifying necessity of keeping under easy sail, for the ships that had fallen to leeward; by which untoward circumstance it was calculated that we should lose one degree every two days. We crossed the Tropic of Cancer about 5 this afternoon.

13th Aug.—The trade continued, but with declining strength. Lat. 24° 51'—lon. 35° 28'—therm. 78'. Again, for the greater part, was the day lost; the men-of-war being still engaged, and for the whole of the forenoon, in the Admiral's wake; as we conjectured, prosecuting the enquiry into the conduct of the refractory Captains of Indiamen.

14th Aug.—The trade, as to which we began yesterday to augur so unfavourably, freshened up most delightfully, this forenoon.

The extraordinary quantity of sea-weed observed to cross our course, for the first time this day, is supposed to drift from the gulph of Florida. But why thence, rather then from the gulph of Mexico, I cannot pretend to explain. This, was, however, as far as I am informed, occasioned, by what is called the gulph stream; originating in a source far

more remote. The weed was in such quantity, as to excite the idea that the ship's course was impeded by it.

The Cirencester and Walmer Castle, were at noon ordered to resume their station. Lat. 26° 12′—lon. 36° 30′—therm. 77° to 79°. The longitude this day was settled through the medium of separate observations, made by the Admiral, and 17 other ships.

The Lady Burgess, having been in the frequent practice of passing to windward of us, we took an opportunity in the course of the day, of hailing her, with some objugatory remarks on the subject.

15th Aug.—The trade continued, with weather beautifully serene. Our boat was sent on board the Marchioness of Exeter, for a set of newspapers, circulating through the fleet, from the Admiral. Lat. 27° 49′—lon. 37° 58′—therm. 80°. The weather beginning to assume a turbulent aspect.

16th Aug.—The trade continued to favour us beyond our expectations: although we were prevented from deriving that full advantage from it, which we might otherwise have looked for, by the dull sailing of some of the ships; more particularly of the Ocean, now deplorably astern. Lat. 29° 29′—lon. 38° 16′—therm. 80°. N.-ing, gained last 24 hours, 100 miles, W.-ing, 18 miles.

About 2 in the afternoon, a strange sail was announced on our weather bow, which proved to be an American brig. She was permitted to proceed on her voyage, after a detention of some three hours.

17th Aug.—The N.E. trade was evidently slackening. At day-light, the Mediator was observed to windward, coming down under a press of canvas; and shortly afterwards the signal was made for a strange sail to the N.E. At 8 o'clock the stranger was visible from our deck, steering for the convoy under studding sails. At 11 she brought to, under the Admiral's stern; and proved to be an American schooner, the Lydia, of Norfolk; 16 days from

Maderia. She reported having seen the Isis, British ship of war, 8 days since. Lat. 30° 56′—lon. 38° 36′ —therm. 80°.

By a boat, which we sent on board the flag-ship, this forenoon, information was received, that the American, yesterday spoken to, announced the arrival in the West Indies, of the combined fleet of France and Spain; and their supposed destination to have been Jamaica. Other conjectures were afloat among us; but the period was now fast approaching, when the curtain would be drawn up, and these, and many other speculations, terminate in certainty.

It was something remarkable, that the American in question, should have supposed himself in lon. 54°; whereas it will be seen that we were in reality then in 38° only: thus conceiving himself the small matter of 16 degrees more to the W.-ward than the truth. He stated, moreover, that originally, he had been bound for Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, with a supply of bullocks for Barbadoes; and endeavoured to account for this enormous error in reckoning, by a gale of wind, which he encountered only four days since; and in which he was constrained to throw all his bullocks overboard, to the number of 40. It is very probable, although he did not mention the circumstance, that he was no great proficient in astronomy; and had no chronometer to which to refer.

This day we were at our extreme point to the W.-ward of Greenwich, namely, 38° 36′. It has, however, frequently happened, that in the home-ward voyage, ships have proceeded so far to the W. as to strike soundings on the great bank of Newfoundland.

Sunday, 18th Aug.—The N.E. trade becoming now hourly more faint, we were prepared to expect its total failure in a day or two.

The Atheniene was in chace of a Portuguese brig, which she succeeded in bringing to, in the course of the forenoon. During this day we had an opportunity of comparing notes with our ancient associate,

the Walthamstow. Lat. 32° 24′ N.—lon. 38° 14′ W. —therm. 81°.

19th Aug.—The Portuguese, which appears to have been an armed brig, was suffered to proceed on her voyage; and when the morning broke she was nearly out of sight to the S.E. At early dawn, we were apprized by a signal from the Admiral, that the enemy might be expected to be at hand. After which, he made sail, apparently, in chace. The N.E. trade appears to have ceased entirely in the course of the last 24 hours, after having continued to befriend us from the 15th to the 31st degree of N. latitude. For the remainder of the voyage, we were, therefore, to rely on such adventitious winds, as an all-disposing Providence might direct, to speed our progress. But for the past, how deep our debt of gratitude!

About 9 in the morning, two strange vessels were announced a-head of the convoy. Lat. 33° 10′—lon. 38° 18′—therm. 82°.

The breeze, after hanging for some time to the S.-ward, dropped us, at last, altogether, and almost in a stark calm; which afforded ample opportunity for that interchange of visits, that was then permitted to take place among those who chose to avail themselves of it. There was now but little prospect of closing with the strangers.

The oppressive heat of the last 2 or 3 days, bespoke, however, as we consoled ourselves, some approaching change of weather.

20th Aug.—The flag-ship, with the Mediator and Winchelsea, considerably to windward, returning to join the convoy. A strange brig, at the same time, was standing across our course, from the W.-ward.

The light and variable breezes which prevailed during last night, advanced us but very little in our progress. The morning, however, overcharged and cloudy as it was, brought us, what generally succeeds to oppressive heat, some rain, though slight; and the

temperature became accordingly cooler, and more refreshing. No observation.—Therm. 75° to 79°.

During the early part of the day, the wind continued variable, with transient squalls and rain; apparently inclined to settle at N.W. But, presently shifting round to S.E. it there remained until about 1 in the afternoon, when we were again accommodated with that abhorrence of sailors, a calm; by our naval wits, denominated an Irish hurricane.

When the atmosphere had in some degree brightened up, a strange sail, which had been for some time visible to the W.-ward, displayed the Portuguese flag. It was announced that she had been 26 days from Brazil, and was bound for Lisbon.

About 2 in the afternoon, our surprise was considerably excited, on observing the strange brig first noticed, making off to the E.-ward, with all the canvas she could spread; and although promptly chaced by the little South-sea whaler, she declined all communication; and finally effected her escape. Opinions were divided, as to whether she were an enemy, or an English privateer, to whom any detention might have been inconvenient.

21st Aug.—The wind continued light and variable, with a tendency, in appearance, to fix in the S.W. quarter. The Atheniene in chace of a strange sail to N.E. Lat. 34° 21′—lon. 37° 39′—therm. 75° to 80°.

About noon, the strange sail stood right across our course, exchanged signals with the Atheniene, and displayed what we thought were English colours. When she was nearly in with the starboard division, she became, to our no small disappointment, invisible, in a squall of rain. Between 4 and 5 in the afternoon, she was again perceived in communication with the Atheniene: after which she made sail to the S.-ward, and shortly disappeared altogether. About sun-set the Atheniene passed through the fleet, and made her report to the Admiral.

It would be ungrateful not to acknowledge in this place, what a load of perpetually recurring alarm, and anxious preparation, we had escaped, through the presence of our ships of war. Under their protection, the appearance of a stranger, instead of apprehension, only excited curiosity; and beguiled the tedious uniformity of the day, without the accompaniment of these irksome speculations, to which we were for ever exposed, while under the guidance of our own resources; and consigned to those inadequate means of defence, which the best provided merchantmen must obviously possess in time of war.

22nd Aug.—We were this day steering N.E. by N. a course almost direct for the Land's end of England, with a fine breeze from the S.-ward and pleasant weather. Lat. 35° 34′—lon. 37° 10′—therm. 80°.

From an inspection of the chart, it will be seen that our position was now due W. of the Straits of Gibraltar; with a longitudinal distance of 32° 10′ —or nearly 1930 miles.

On further information, the ship yesterday spoken to, proved to be the United States frigate, the President, last from the Mediterranean. She had left Malta on the 12th of July, and Gibraltar on the 2nd of August. She alledged having fallen in with, off Cape Bona, on the N. coast of Africa, a British fleet of men-of-war, and transports, whose supposed destination was Sicily. She further communicated papers from England, to the 26th of June, and Ireland to the 2nd of July. By these, it would appear, that Sir Richard Bickerton, with 4 sail of the line, was blockading Carthagena, where there were 8 Spanish ships of the line and frigates, ready for sea; and lastly, that on the 27th of July, Lord Nelson was before Cadiz; that is, five days after Sir Robert Calder's action with the combined fleet.

The size and equipment of this American, ought to have been of sufficient weight, by her appearance on this occasion, to save our small 32-gun frigates,

from being exposed to a collison with vessels, of such enormous superiority of force.

About sun-set this afternoon, several guns from the flag-ship, indicated in language loud, the displeasure of the Admiral, as we were taught to suppose, at the non-compliance of the True Briton, with his signal to take the unfortunate Ocean in tow.

23rd Aug.—We experienced a continuance of the same auspicious breeze, with weather as pleasant as the heart could wish; and more so, indeed, than, in reason, we had a right to expect.

The communication of the preceding day, together with the refractory proceeding of the True Briton, did occasion considerable delay: the result of which might prove fortunate or otherwise; as fate should direct the course of hostile squadrons, if any such should be at sea.

The Ocean was taken in tow by the Marquis of Ely. Lat. 37°—lon. 36° 30′—therm. 78°. We were, therefore, nearly in the parallel of Cape St. Vincent, at the distance of about 27°30′ of lon.—or nearly 1630 miles to the W.-ward.

24th Aug.—I could not quite forget, that this day completed the 24th year, from my arrival as a cadet, at Madras.

The wind was W.-erly, inclined to be variable; and the atmosphere heavily overcharged. By the evening, we looked to be clear of the N.-ern extreme of the Azores, or, western islands. The breeze freshened considerably during the forenoon; although rather too much to the E.-ward. Lat. 38° 42′—lon. 35° 45′—therm. 77°. Our course was altered by signal, 2 points to the E.-ward, that is, to about N.E.

Sunday, 25th Aug.—The breeze, which at first appeared to be dying away, freshened up, however, by noon. One of our boats was sent on board the flag-ship, for some purpose, to us passengers, unknown and undivulged. Lat. 40° 4′ N.—lon. 35° 25′ W.—therm. 76°. The unexpected advance in

latitude, of 82 miles, in the last 24 hours, was ascribed to a supposed current, from the S.E. acting in combination with the wind from the same quarter.

The belt of sea-weed, through which we had continued to pass ever since the 14th of the month, in lat. 26°, now disappeared altogether; it may, therefore, be estimated to extend over a breadth of 14°—about 840 miles. The weather became totally calm in the evening, and so continued during the night.

26th Aug.—We were still be-calmed, throughout the day. Lat. 40° 28′—lon. 35° 4′—therm. 77°. A boat from the Experiment, came on board in the course of the day, with Maj. Jasper Nicols, and Capt. Campbell; the former now a distinguished general officer, and K.C.B.; but the latter, a very amiable and gallant young soldier, after having attained to the rank of Lieut.-Col. was killed, many years afterwards, in the successful attack on the Mauritius.

27th Aug.—The morning was ushered in with a slight squall of wind and rain. The wind was from N.E. right in our teeth; and the convoy was much extended—the flag-ship to leeward.

A sail, which appeared at a great distance to the N.W. at 9 in the morning, was supposed at first to have been a stranger; but finally proved to be the Sovereign, one of our consorts.

At noon this day, our astronomers calculated that we were 435 nautical leagues, or 1305 miles from the Lizard.

28th Aug.—The forenoon, as on the day preceding, opened with a squall of wind and rain, from S.E. It was, however, succeeded by a favourable and steady breeze from the same quarter; and by 10 o'clock we were impelled at the rate of 6 knots an hour. Lat. 41° 3′—lon. 33° 32′—therm. 75° to 77°. In the course of the afternoon, we were proceeding at the rate of 6 and 7 knots, under top-sails only, with the Ocean in tow of the Marquis of Ely; a process not

less irksome to the towed, than the towing, ship.

29th Aug.—The wind had freshened into a stiff breeze, bearing us at the rate of 7 knots, under top-sails, which by 9 in the morning, it became expedient to curtail by a reef.

As a contrast to what had been shown by some of our consorts, the Ceres made no difficulty in complying with the signal thrown out this morning, to take the Fame in tow. The breeze continued to freshen from S.S.E. Lat. at noon, 42° 52'—lon. 30° 30'—therm. 73° to 75°. Our position this day was nearly in the parallel of Cape Finisterre, at the distance of 21° 30', or about 1290 miles to the W.-ward. Some passing shreds of sea weed were observed, both this and the preceding day.

At 2 in the afternoon, a strange sail hove in sight, about E.S.E. and as we were proceeding on opposite tacks at the rate of 7 knots, the stranger brought up in about an hour under the Admiral's lee. Both ships then dropped a-stern to a considerable distance. The stranger had displayed the ensign of the American states; and a boat had been observed to pass between her and the flag-ship.

About sun-set, the Admiral, then nearly hull-down a-stern, announced to a repeating, intermediate ship, and she to the fleet, by telegraph, the following emphatic sentence—"Good news—the enemy's fleet defeated." The approach of night-fall precluded us from the further particulars, and we were left at full leisure to indulge in speculation.

30th Aug.—The wind W—fair as it could possibly blow; our course being due E.

The good news which had raised some extravagant expectations, proved to be intelligence of an advantage, obtained by Sir Robert Calder, with 15 ships of the line, and some frigates, over the combined squadrons of France and Spain, consisting of 20 sail of the line, and 3 fifties. The action is described to have taken place, in lat. 43° 30' N.—and lon. 11° 17'

W.—on the 22nd of July; or about 197 miles W. of Cape Ortogal. The affair is stated to have terminated in the capture of two of the enemy's ships—an 84 and a 74. It will be seen that, on the 22nd of July, we were in lat. 1° 17′ S.—and lon. 20° W.—a comfortable distance of about 3,000 miles.

The American stated, having left the Downs on the 10th of Aug.; and having fallen in with the Polyphemus, an English ship of war, not many days since.

The boat employed to bring us the above information, was overset close along-side of us; but was immediately righted, without further mishap.

Although under all the circumstances of the unequal conflict, in which, *single-handed*, England was then engaged, we could not contemplate this partial success, as by any means a great victory; yet to us, way-farers on the high road of nations—the trackless deep—it was of sufficient importance, as removing some of the dangers which might have crossed our course.

We were becalmed during the whole of the afternoon, in a confused and tumbling sea; being now open with the bay of Biscay; although a considerable distance to the W.-ward: but towards night-fall we were relieved by an agreeable breeze, which sprung up, from about E.S.E.

31st Aug.—We were now enjoying a very tolerable fore-taste of an English autumn, bleak and foggy weather, with rain. At the same time we found ourselves greatly to leeward of the convoy, going close hauled. It afforded but little consolation to perceive the Lord Castlereagh, with the Fame, in tow, considerably more to leeward than ourselves. As the wind, however, veered round to the S.W. in the course of the forenoon, we entertained some hope of regaining our station before night-fall. Lat. 44° 53′—therm. 70° to 75°.

About noon, the weather cleared up, and the wind

became fair; and we resumed our station in the order of sailing, by three in the afternoon.

At this time the flag-ship had passed to leeward, on the look-out for the Ocean and Lord Castlereagh, just in sight at sun-set, through the distant haze, and labouring hard to regain their station in the convoy.

Whether or not it were ascribable to the haziness of the atmosphere, enlarging objects beyond their natural size, the declining sun, this evening, exhibited in the convoy, now well collected, a spectacle not less magnificent than it was imposing.

The numerous ships, disclosed in perfect outline, and riding in majestic motion on the vast expanse: while the surging wave, here rolling in silent grandeur, heaved into view the shell of the noble machine, cased in burnished gold, to within a few feet of the keel, presented, altogether, indeed, a picture of moving sublimity and beauty, not often seen. Those majestic objects, so justly esteemed the triumph of human invention, were rendered more striking, by the alternate light and shadow, cast upon the swelling canvas, by the beams of a radiant sun, occasionally bursting through the mass of clouds, which over-hung the atmosphere.

In short—for I can no otherwise account for the above effusion—we had a picture floating before our eyes, which must have awakened the admiration of even the least observant; and which in grandeur not to be surpassed, must have set in motion such heart-stirring reflections as are seldom felt; unless, indeed, it be, where an equal number of ships of the line, are brought together, to assert, in thunder, the sovereignty of the ocean—by those "whose cradle is the mountain wave, whose home is in the storm."

Sunday, 1st Sept.—After a night of moderate weather, the morning broke upon us with an angry and frowning aspect: the wind blowing fresh from the S. W.-ward, through a dense and heavy fog, accompanied with rain. The Ocean and Castlereagh were,

however, well up with the convoy. No observation —therm 79°.

The thick fog continued to involve us in almost cimmerian obscurity, during the day. Towards evening, however, the wind abated, and shifting to the E.-ward, it became almost calm. The Admiral fired a gun every half-hour, to indicate his situation to the convoy.

2nd Sept.—The morning had become unexpectedly bright and clear. The convoy tacked by signal, when it appeared that 10 ships had parted company during the night. The Atheniene chaced to windward, in order to reclaim the truants. The Winchelsea did the same to the S.-ward; and the Glatton a-head. Lat. 46° 1′—lon. 22° 30′—therm. 70°. This day at noon, the Lizard, and the opening of the English channel, bore, by calculation, about E.N.E. —distant 730 miles.

About 1 in the afternoon, the Winchelsea brought to, an American, proceeding to the S.W. and the Atheniene returning from chace, made sail again, to N.E. after another strange sail, which made its appearance in that quarter. The men-of-war rejoined the convoy at night-fall.

The 10 missing ships had been observed to put about in the night, which certainly, appeared very like premeditation.

For some part of the day, the wind was at E. It then came round to N.W. with fair and pleasant weather.

3rd Sept.—The weather continued delightfully fine. The Atheniene was in chace to the rear. The Walmer Castle to the S.-ward; and the Winchelsea was under easy sail a-head. The Admiral was in appearance, still in expectation of falling in with the stray ships of his convoy. Lat. 46° 19′—lon. 19° 38′ —therm. 68° to 71°.

About sun-set, when signal had been just made to recal the chasing ships, a strange sail a-head

was announced by the Winchelsea; but night put a close to the operations of the day.

4th Sept.—The sun which, last evening, set in ireful crimson, through the thick bank of fog, which over-hung the W. might have been sufficient to fore-warn us of a boisterous morning.—Between 3 and 4 o'clock, a squall of wind and rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, seemed to be the rude welcome of our arrival in the meridian of Europe. About 7 it came on to blow fresh, and soon reduced our canvas to reefed top-sails, still going 8 knots, at intervals. The weather was, however, enlivened by occasional gleams of sun-shine, from a blue and smiling sky.

It was, at the same time, considered auspicious that such weather should have anticipated, rather than awaited, our arrival in the narrow seas.

The Atheniene, which had continued in chace to the N. W. was this morning recalled.

Lat. 47° 6′.—lon. 16° 34′.—therm. 66°—Our position this day, must have been nearly abreast of Belle Isle; about 13° of longitude, to the W.-ward.

Notwithstanding the menacing appearance of the morning, the weather became unexpectedly favourable in the course of the day: the wind settling to the N.-ward of W. in a strong and steady beeeze.

Our distance from the Lizard, this day at noon, was calculated at 480 miles.

An American vessel standing to the S.-ward, was brought to, by the Atheniene, about dusk in the evening.

The sun set in a dense bank of clouds, with, however, a visage of gold; unlike the countenance of ire, exhibited in the evening of yesterday.

5th Sept.—A squall, which occurred about 3 in the morning, was thought to bespeak some violent change in the weather; the wind shifting to the E.-ward about the same hour. The forenoon, in the early part, became hazy, cold, and rainy. Before 11

o'clock the wind again changed to N.W.—still bleak and cold. Lat. 47° 55′—lon 13° 30′—therm. 62° to 65°.

After all, the latter part of the day proved, in every respect, bright and favourable, and nearer night, set in with fairer prospect: the silver moon shining with unclouded lustre, in a firmament of the purest azure.

6th Sept.—The fair and flattering promise of the preceding evening, nevertheless, the weather became rather boisterous and squally, about 2 this morning. At the same hour, under reefed top-sails, we were impelled at the rate of 8 knots. It continued to blow with considerable violence, accompanied with rain, during the earlier part of the forenoon. The gloom with which we might otherwise have been oppressed, was materially dispelled, by the genial influence of occasional sun-beams, breaking through the clouds. The wind was then at W. tending to N.—with a heavy sea; which gave to the ship a rolling motion, more teasing and troublesome, than we had experienced during any part of the voyage. Lat. 48° 29′—lon. through the medium of 7 observations, 10° 1′—therm. 65°.

In the afternoon, the weather became more moderate; although many of the ships, and the Admiral's among them, were still going 6 knots under bare poles. Others of the convoy, were, at the same time, carrying top-gallant sails. The day was such, indeed, as to mark, with considerable precision, our arrival in a rigorous and bracing climate—the temperature appears to have been remarkably equable.

At 6 in the afternoon, the Admiral, made the important signal that he had struck soundings in 94 fathoms, or 564 feet. At the same hour, our distance from the Lizard was calculated at 162 miles. We enjoyed a moderate night.

7th Sept.—As had been the case for several days past, the morning broke from an atmosphere greatly

overcharged, which dissolved in frequent showers.

Two strange vessels were spoken to by the flag-ship and the Atheniene. The wind continued favourable at W. by N. The swell had considerably abated.

Towards noon the clouds dispersed. The weather brightened up; and about that hour, the Admiral announced his 2nd set of soundings, at 75 fathoms, or 450 feet. Lat. 49° 21′—lon. 6° 54′—therm 63° to 65°. At 3 in the afternoon, for the third and last time, a signal from the Admiral announced soundings, at 60 fathoms.

Our distance from the Lizard, this day, at noon, was calculated from 63 to 73 miles. At the same time, we were bearing directly for the mid-channel, between Ushant and the Lizard. Several foreign ships were passing down channel; and we enjoyed a moon-light night of uncommon brilliance.

Sunday, 8th Sept. 1805.—The auspicious morning broke most favourably, that restored to us the view of the heaven-befriended land of our fathers. The breeze was moderate, and the sea was as tranquil and undisturbed as if we had already been in harbour: when at 8 o'clock, just before breakfast, a signal from the Mediator, announced "The Land!" We had previously hauled up 2 points to windward; and were standing about E. by N.

At 9 o'clock, the sea-girt cliffs of the Queen of the Ocean, were discernable from the deck, between Praull point and the Start.

It would be difficult to describe the nature of my feelings at this important crisis of my life. That they were of a very mixed complexion will easily be credited: for I must acknowledge, that if, at the moment, I experienced any sensations of an exhilarating nature, they were dashed, or embittered, by the more prevailing influence of unknown, and untried, situations, into which my destiny was about to lead me; with no other guide than the monitor in my own breast.

A fervent ejaculation of grateful praise from the deepest recesses of the heart, to the Almighty Ruler of earth, and seas, and skies, was, I trust, acceptable and accepted, before the Throne of Mercy.

Monday, 9th Sept. 1805.—Early in the forenoon, we had reached the N.-ern end of the Isle of Wight; and steering for Spithead and the Mother Bank, we passed under the chequer-painted broad-side of that magnificent first-rate, then in a dismantled state; but soon afterwards, destined to convey the heroic Nelson to his matchless Victory—his death of Glory.

About 11 in the forenoon, we finally quitted the Earl St. Vincent, after passing through some ludicrous scenes with the custom-house officers, by whom some of our fellow passengers were stripped, without mercy, of several valuable shawls, and other articles, intended as presents to their friends. We landed at Portsmouth, about 3 in the afternoon, 59 days since we quitted St. Helena; and making altogether from Point-de-Galle, a passage of 5 months and 23 days: and after an absence from England, on my part, of 24 years, 5 months, and 24 days.

I quitted Portsmouth, where the inhabitants seemed to look upon us some very strange exotics, on the 10th Sept. in company with my old friend Col. Boden; and slept the night of that day at Guilford; where, as an incipient mishap, I left the whole of my keys, on my departure. The next day, I reached my kind friend, Gen. Bowles' residence, in the precincts of Fitzroy-square—in the afternoon, of the 11th September.

Of the hospitality and kindness, truly paternal, of the reception, which I experienced, I shall ever retain the most grateful recollection. I found a home where I had but slender claims to expect it. But my old friend has been long since taken to that abode, where all things are forgotten, and cannot now be sensible to the expressions of human gratitude. Alike also must be my recollection of that, which I soon

afterwards experienced, under the roof of my old and respectable commander, Capt. Carpenter, of Potter's Bar. His standing in the service, had he remained in it, would have been high among Lieut.-Generals. The following winter and spring, I passed, in great comfort, at Hadley, near Barnet, where I largely shared in that liberal hospitality to strangers, which then distinguished some of the families of that place.

In the month of June 1806, I proceeded into my native county in South Wales; where a reception awaited me, so liberal and friendly, as far to surpass any thing that I had a right to expect, after an absence of such duration.

An eventful period of nine-and-twenty years, hath since passed over our heads; and it is not without a feeling of gratitude, and some wonder, that I find myself to have retained faculties, *still* sufficiently unimpared, to be able to bring the above simple detail of circumstances to a conclusion.

In this narrative, of my humble progress through life, I am not aware of having introduced aught that can be injurious to the purest morality, or subversive, in any shape, of the good order of society. But with regard to defect in language or composition, I must quietly submit to the fiat of an indulgent and judicious criticism.

Gentle reader—farewell! My next journey will be to "that undiscovered country, from whose bourne no traveller returns."

THE END.

THE amiable author of the preceding Memoir, *has* taken that "journey," to which he adverts in its closing lines.

It remains for the Editor to append a brief sketch of the life of his departed friend, from the period of the close of the Memoir to that of his lamented death.

In doing so, he finds in the "Annual Biography and Obituary, for 1837" almost all that he requires. As the article is short, he has thought it best to copy it, almost entirely—although it comprizes something beyond what is indicated in the preceding paragraph.

No. 1.

MAJOR DAVID PRICE—

Bombay Army—Member of the Royal Asiatic Society—and of the Royal Society of Literature.

The subject of this Memoir embarked as a Cadet for the Bombay Establishment of 1780, in the Essex, when very young; but with the advantages of education at an English university. He was a native of Wales. His father was of that meritorious class of rural ministers, who labour through life on a small cure; little known beyond the limit of a narrow circle, but therein much revered and beloved. He is, however, respectfully recollected as a scholar of considerable literary and classical attainments. He was for many years engaged in preparing for holy orders, young men of the principality; who in his day, were not usually sent to a university. He was presented by the then Bishop of St. David, in addition to the living of Aberystwith, to another benefice in Cardiganshire. This, it is understood, was in consideration of an able translation and publication of a volume of Sermons. He grounded and forwarded his son's classical education at an early age.

The death of his father reduced the means of meeting the expences of education at Cambridge; and Mr. Price was removed

thence, and repaired to London; with what views and prospects we know not. It would appear, that, unprotected in this seductive metropolis, he fell into difficulties and distresses, from which he was relieved by the interposition of a friend; who obtained for him the appointment of a Cadet in the army of India. On the voyage thither, the Essex bore a distinguished part, in the smart skirmish between the squadrons of Adm. Suffrein and Commodore Johnson, in Porto Praya, off the island of St. Jago. Johnson committed the gross mistake of anchoring his fighting ships close in with the shore, and the merchant-men outside; so that the brunt of the action fell on the East India Company's ships. The increased facilities of watering, gained by this dangerous position, was, no doubt, the motive for risking it:—but had the vigour of Suffrein's attack at all corresponded with that of his subsequent operations in the Indian seas, the result must have been deeply injurious to the reputation of the British navy.

In the further prosecution of her voyage to India, the Essex was dismasted in a hurricane; but after a variety of contingencies, some of them of a perilous nature, she reached Madras. Immediately on his arrival in India, Mr. Price, as an acting Ensign, was thrown into active service on the Coromandel coast, under Gen. Sir Hector Munro; and at Trincomalee, with the naval force of Adm. Sir Edward Hughes. Ensign Price arrived at Bombay in April 1782; and proceeded with the ill-fated army under Gen. Mathews; but escaped its destiny, by an appointment to the 2nd battalion of Bombay sepoys, commanded by Capt. Daniel Carpenter. That very active and excellent officer, in a variety of detached operations of considerable duration—not less, we believe, than of eighteen months—and altogether unsupported, either by reinforcements of men or of supplies of money, effectually secured, with only his own battalion, the northern district of Sadasheughur (or Carwar) against all the attempts of Tippoo to repossess it, until the peace of 1783.

In all these energetic operations of a handful of men, left to their own resources, in the country of an active and powerful enemy, which although on a small scale, laid a good foundation for a military education, Ensign Price was ever among the most forward;

and won, in a high degree, the professional and friendly esteem of his able and discriminating Commander.

At the commencement of the next war with Tippoo, Lieut. Price commanded a grenadier company in Capt. Little's battalion; and with it joined the Mahratta army under the Brahman General, Purseram Bhow; intended to co-operate with the grand army of Lord Cornwallis, in the reduction of Tippoo's country and capital. The Mahrattas, with Little's Bombay brigade, were delayed six months by the fortress of Darwar, on the Sultan's N.-ern frontier. At the early assaults on the enemy's town and fort, Lieut. Price was very forward; and was, more than once, honorably mentioned in public orders. At an unsuccessful attack of the fort on the 7th of February 1791, he was severely wounded in the arm and ancle; rendering necessary the amputation of his leg. On the surrender of the fort, he proceeded to Poona; where he remained attached to the military guard, or honorary escort, of Sir Charles Malet, our political minister at that court, until the peace of Seringapatam.

His brother officers of Little's detachment, appointed Lieut. Price their prize agent. He was then removed to a staff situation at Surat. It was in this city that he made his celebrated collection of Persian and other historical works. He had there leisure to pursue his researches; assisted by most of the standard historians of Persia and Arabia; which terminated in the publication of that great repository of Mahommedan history, of which farther mention will presently be made.

In 1795, being a Captain by brevet, he was appointed Judge Advocate to the Bombay army. In 1797-8—he was with the detachment in active operation in Malabar, under Col. Dow, as his military secretary, and interpreter:—during which, Capt. Price twice narrowly escaped being cut off by the enterprize and energy of our Nair enemies; then proverbial for their independence and high military spirit, in that turbulent portion of Tippoo's—now our—territory.

When the Bombay army took the field in 1790, with its Com.-in-Ch. Gen. James Stuart, to co-operate with the armies of the other Presidencies, under Gen. Lord Harris, in the reduction of Seringapatam, Capt. Price accompanied Gen. Stuart as Persian translator,

the result of his labours, under the title of 'A Chronological Retrospect; or Memoir, of the Principal Events of Mahommedan History—from the Death of the Arabian Legislator, to the Accession of the Emperor Akbar."

"Coming out"—the Report continues—"under the disadvantages of a distant, and rural, press, and in single volumes, with intervals of several years, this work has been, hitherto, much less known and appreciated, than the ability with which it is completed, and the originality of the sources which supplied its materials, entitle it to be."

"It was followed in 1824, by another work in quarto, entitled 'An Essay towards the History of Arabia, antecedent to the birth of Mahommed."

To these passages from the "Report," it may be added, that the last mentioned is, also, a valuable piece of History; which has not obtained its deserved notice and circulation.

The "Report" thus proceeds—"The Oriental Translation Committee, also numbered Major Price among the distinguished Scholars whose translations it has given to the public. His translation of the 'Autobiography of the Emperor Jehangir;' and of the 'Last Days of Krishna,' were published by that Committee. And in June 1830, its gold medal was presented to him, as a mark of the Committee's estimation of his talents and labours. Subsequently the Committee published his translation of 'An Account of the Siege and Reduction of Chaitur—from the Akber Namah of Abu'l Fazl."

"To the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Major Price contributed 'An Extract from the Muálijáti Dara Shekóhi.' The M.S. of the valuable work from which this translation was made—(and which is supposed to be the only one in Europe, with the exception of a copy of it, taken about thirty years ago for the library of the King of France)—is included in Major Price's munificent bequest to this Society of his Collection of Oriental manuscripts."*

The Collection, here, and before, mentioned, extended to nearly ninety volumes; and is, we understand, highly appreciated by

* Annual Report of the R. A. S.—1836.

the learned and useful Society, to which it was so appropriately bequeathed.*

Major Price died on the 16th of December, 1835—aged 73. It was intimated to his Widow by his friends in Brecon, that a public monument was proposed to be erected to his memory. And it may farther serve to shew the general estimation in which he was there held, that the usual Christmas festivities—(dinners, balls, &c.)—of the town, where he had passed more than a quarter of a century of his useful life, were omitted, on the melancholy occasion of his then recent death.

We are informed that an Autobiography of the subject of this Memoir is extant, of his "Military Services in India"—and that it will probably be published. The public may expect a work of no common interest. It will tend to explain how "fertile in resources," many of the East India Company's officers have shown themselves, under various trying contingencies; how, when Subalterns and Captains, doing the duties, and incurring the responsibilities of officers of much higher grades, they have been profitably tutored in that severe and trying professional school.

In conclusion it may be recorded, that few stood higher in the esteem of his brother soldiers of the Bombay army—and of those who knew him in domestic and social life—than Major Price. He was generous—high minded—of uncompromising integrity—an exemplary husband—a steady friend.———†

The "Autobiography" mentioned in the preceding article of the Annual Obituary for 1837, is the work now in the hand of the Reader. The M.S. of it, in a state of perfect readiness for the press, was in charge of its present Editor, at the time of the death of its lamented Author, for the purpose of publication. His death, and some other causes, have retarded its appearance.

To the few who may be acquainted with the position of the Editor, in respect to this publication—of its dedication more especially—he desires permission to explain that it was the wish of Her, whose

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* A list of the principal works thus bequeathed, is added.

† Annual Biography and Obituary.—1837.

wishes and feelings in this matter were, alone, to be consulted, that no omission or alteration should be made on that point. It was, manifestly, the intention and desire of the deceased, that his "Memoir," thus prepared and arranged, should be published. This desire on that head governed her's—and her's alone, at once, determined the question. The dedication, therefore, stands, as written and placed by the lamented Autobiographist.

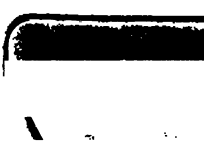
List of the Persian and Arabic M.SS. bequeathed by Major Price, to the Royal Asiatic Society.

Mujmil ul Hikmat; a Compendium of Philosophy. Persian. 12mo.
The Works of Sa'dí. 12mo.
'Ishkíyah-i Amír Khosrú. 8vo.
Preface to the Sháh Námah, &c. 8vo.
The Korán. Arabic. 8vo.
Gulshan-i 'Ishk; a Poem. Hindústání. 4to.
Kitáb-i Munáját; Book of Prayers, &c. 8vo.
Ferishtah. Folio.
Rasálah-i Káinát; a Treatise on Natural History, Geography, &c. By Khalíf 'Alí Khán Ashk. Hindústání. 8vo.
The Bústán of Sadí. 4to.
Akhlák-i Násirí. 8vo.
Akhlák-i Násirí. (Another copy.)
The Poems of Khákání. Folio.
Ta'bír Námah; a Work on the Interpretation of Dreams. 8vo.
Abú 'l Fazl's History of the Emperors, Báber, Homáiún, and Akbar. Folio.
'Ajáib ul Makhlúkat; the Wonders of Creation. Persian. 8vo.
Poems of Jamí. 8vo.
The Subhah of Jámí.
Risálah-i Mákúl u Mashrúb; a Treatise on Dietetics, in Persian verse. 12mo.
Nal u Daman; a Persian Poem by Faizí. 8vo.
Díwán-i Mír Razí ud-Dín. 12mo
Díwán-i Riázi. 12mo.
A Treatise on War: translated from the French into Persian. 4to.
Volume of Prayers. Arabic. 8vo.
Díwán-i Mír Ahsan. 8vo.
Tohfat ul 'Irákain; a Poem by Khákání. 8vo.
A Treatise on Chess. Imperfect. 4to.
Ismá'íl Námah, and Timúr Námah. 8vo.
Majma' ul Inshá; a Collection of Letters.
The Khulásat ul Akhbár. Folio.
Masnaví Jalál ud-Dín Rúmi. 4to.
Another MS. of the preceding.
The Mahábhárata: Persian translation. 2 vols. Folio.
The Rauzat us-Safá. 2 vols. Folio.

The Poems of Nizámi. 8vo.
Táríkh-i Tabarí. Folio.
Mu'áliját-i Dárá Shekóhí. Vols. II. and III. Folio.
Abstract of the History of India. Persian. 8vo.
Complete Letter-Writer. Persian. 12mo.
Accounts of Tippoo's Military Expenditures. 4to.
Regulations of Tippoo in the Treasury Department. 4to.
Poem on Tippoo's War with the Mahrattas. Hindústání. 4to.
Account of Mysore; Drawn up by order of Tippoo Sultán.
Tippoo's Inscriptions on Seals, Signatures, &c. &c. 4to.
Copies of Letters.
Díwán-i Háfiz, with the Bústán of Sa'dí written on the margin. Folio.
Kissah-i Rizván Sháh: a tale in Hindústání. 8vo.
'Ayyár-i Dánish. 8vo.
Habíb us-Siyar. Folio.
The Jehángir Námah. 8vo.
Common-Place Book of Persian Poetry. 12mo.
Inshá-i Herkern. 8vo.
Rauzat-us Safá.
A Work on Military Exercises, &c. Persian. 8vo.
A Volume of Medical Prescriptions, &c. Persian. 8vo.
An Ámad Námah, or Persian Grammar.
A Translation from the Turkish, of the History of the Capture of Constantinople, &c. Persian.
History of the Nabob of Oude and his Government. 8vo.
The Sháh Námah. Folio.
Commentary on the Mesnavi of Jalál ud Dín Rúmí. 8vo.
Selection of Ghazals, from various Persian Poets. 4to.
Poem on the Conquests of Mohammed. 4to.
Tafsír of the Korán. By Mauláná Nafi Allah al Káshí. 2 vols. Folio.
Abwáb ul Junam: the Gates of Paradise; a Collection of Moral Tales. 8vo.
Abú 'l Fazl's Lives of Báber, Homáiún, and Akbar. Folio.
Siar ul Nabí. Small folio.
Portfolio of loose Papers, Letters, &c. 8vo.
Life of the Prophet, &c. Small folio.
Moral and Religious Work. By Hussian Ibn Álim ibn Abú-l-Hassan. 12mo.
Another MS. of the above.
A Controversial Work. Persian. 12mo.
Ferhang-i Rashídí. Folio.
A Work on the Traditions. By Mohammed Tálik Káshifí. Folio.

Inscription on the mural tablet, erected in the Priory Church, at Brecon.—

Sacred to the Memory
OF
DAVID PRICE, Esq. M.R.A.S.—F.R.L.S.
Who departed this life on the 16th December, 1835 —aged 73 years.

He was a Magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Brecon—
Major in the Service of the Hon. East India Company—and
Judge Advocate General of the Bombay Army.
He was an elegant and accomplished Oriental Scholar;
To which various publications bear ample testimony.
The unassuming simplicity of his general deportment,
Was not less admirable than the high moral courage,
Which on every occasion marked his manly conduct.
A stranger to every selfish principle,
His universal benevolence and uncompromising integrity,
Justly secured him the esteem and confidence of all classes of society:—
And his death was deeply and extensively lamented.
In his generous breast, next to the pure love of virtue,
Glowed the ardent love of his Country—
In whose sacred cause he bravely fought and freely bled.—
After twenty-five years faithfully and zealously devoted
To the Public Interest,
He returned from India—Alas!—the wreck of what he left his home—
And dedicated the peaceful evening of his days
To the pursuits of Literature,
To the exemplary discharge of every relative and every social duty—
But mainly to the contemplation, and to the practice of
That genuine piety—that patient submission to suffering—
So pre-eminently exemplified in the perfect pattern of obedience left to us by
Our Blessed Redeemer—
On whose Infinite Atonement he solely rested his
Humble Hope of Eternal Salvation.

In tribute of devoted affection to a beloved Husband,
This imperfect memorial is recorded
By His sorrowing Widow.